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THE

HISTORY

OF

England,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO THE

REVOLUTION IN 1688,

BY

David Hume.

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BY DAVID HUME, ESQ.

THIRD VOLUME.

EDWARD VI.

CHAP. XXXIV & XXXV.

STATE OF THE REGENCY: REFORMATION COMPLETED: CONDUCT OF THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND: BATTLE OF PINKEY: YOUNG QUEEN OF SCOTS SENT INTO FRANCE: DUDLEY EARL OF WARWIC: A PARLIAMENT: ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.—DISCONTENTS OF THE PEOPLE: INSURRECTIONS: FACTIONS IN THE COUNCIL: BOULOGNE SURRENDERED: AMBITION OF WARWIC: A PARLIAMENT: A NEW PARLIAMENT: SUCCESSION CHANGED: THE KING'S SICKNESS: AND DEATH.

EDWARD VI

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

EDWARD VI.

1547....1553.

STATE OF THE REGENCY....INNOVATIONS IN THE REGENCY....HERTFORD PROTECTOR....REFORMATION COMPLETED....GARDINER'S OPPOSITION....FOREIGN AFFAIRS....PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND....ASSASSINATION OF CARDINAL BEATON....CONDUCT OF THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND....BATTLE OF PINKEY....A PARLIAMENT....FARTHER PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION....AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND....YOUNG QUEEN OF SCOTS SENT INTO FRANCE....CABALS OF LORD SEYMOUR....DUDLEY EARL OF WARWICK....ATTAINDER AND EXECUTION OF LORD SEYMOUR....ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

STATE OF THE REGENCY. 1547.

THE late king, by the regulations which he impoſed on the government of his infant ſon, as well as by the limitations of the ſucceſſion, had projected to reign even after his deceaſe; and he imagined that his miniſters, who had always been ſo obſequious to him during his lifetime, would never afterwards de-

part from the plan which he had traced out to them. He fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and, as Edward was then only a few months paſt nine, he appointed ſixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he intruſted the government of the kingdom. Their names were, Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury; lord Wriotheſley, chancellor; lord St. John, great maſter; lord Ruſſel, privy ſeal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viſcount Liſle, admiral; Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham; ſir Anthony Brown, maſter of horſe; ſir William Paget, ſecretary of ſtate; ſir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; ſir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the common pleas; judge Bromley, ſir Anthony Denny, and ſir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; ſir Edward Wotton, treaſurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To theſe executors, with whom was intruſted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counſellors, who poſſeſſed no immediate power, and could only aſſiſt with their advice when any affair was laid before them. The council was compoſed of the earls of Arundel and Eſſex; ſir Thomas Cheyney, treaſurer of the houſehold; ſir John Gage, comptroller; ſir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; ſir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate; ſir Richard Rich, ſir John Baker, ſir Ralph Sadler, ſir Thomas Seymour, ſir Richard Southwel, and ſir Edmund Peckham.[a] The uſual caprice of Henry appears ſomewhat in this nomination; while he appointed ſeveral perſons of inferior ſtation among his executors, and gave only the place of counſellor to a perſon of ſuch high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to ſir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

INNOVATIONS IN THE REGENCY.

But the firſt act of the executors and counſellors was to depart from the deſtination of the late king in a material article. No

ſooner were they met than it was ſuggeſted that the government would loſe its dignity for want of ſome head, who might repreſent the royal majeſty, who might receive addreſſes from foreign ambaſſadors, to whom diſpatches from Engliſh miniſters abroad might be carried, and whoſe name might be employed in all orders and proclamations: and, as the king's will ſeemed to labour under a defect in this particular, it was deemed neceſſary to ſupply it by chooſing a protector; who, though he ſhould poſſeſs all the exterior ſymbols of royal dignity, ſhould yet be bound, in every act of power, to follow the opinion of the executors.[b] This propoſal was very diſagreeable to chancellor Wriotheſley. That magiſtrate, a man of an active ſpirit and high ambition, found himſelf, by his office, entitled to the firſt rank in the regency after the primate; and, as he knew that this prelate had no talent or inclination for ſtate affairs, he hoped that the direction of public buſineſs would of courſe devolve in a great meaſure upon himſelf. He oppoſed, therefore, the propoſal of chooſing a protector; and repreſented that innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which, being corroborated by act of parliament, ought in every thing to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the ſame authority which had eſtabliſhed it. But he ſeems to have ſtood alone in the oppoſition.

HERTFORD PROTECTOR.

THE executors and counſellors were moſtly courtiers, who had been raiſed by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or great hereditary influence; and, as they had been ſufficiently accuſtomed to ſubmiſſion during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretenſions to govern the nation by their own authority, they acquieſced the more willingly in a propoſal which ſeemed

calculated for preſerving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of courſe on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was ſtrongly intereſted in his ſafety; and, poſſeſſing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any ſeparate intereſt, which might lead him to endanger Edward's perſon or his authority.[c] The public was informed by proclamation of this change in the adminiſtration; and diſpatches were ſent to all foreign courts to give them intimation of it. All thoſe who were poſſeſſed of any office reſigned their former commiſſions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The biſhops themſelves were conſtrained to make a like ſubmiſſion. Care was taken to inſert in their new commiſſions that they held their offices during pleaſure:[d] and it is there expreſsly affirmed that all manner of authority and juriſdiction, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil, is originally derived from the crown.[e]

The executors in their next meaſure ſhewed a more ſubmiſſive deference to Henry's will, becauſe many of them found their account in it. The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to ſupply the place of thoſe peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of iſſue; and, that he might enable the new peers to ſupport their dignity, he had reſolved either to beſtow eſtates on them or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone ſo far as to inform them of this reſolution; and in his will he charged his executors to make good all his promiſes.[f] That they might aſcertain his intentions in the moſt authentic manner, ſir William Paget, ſir Anthony Denny, and ſir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always converſed in a familiar manner, were called before the board of regency; and, having given evidence of what they knew concerning the king's promiſes, their teſtimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to

the fulfilling of theſe engagements. Hertford was created duke of Somerſet, mareſchal and lord treaſurer; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Eſſex, marquis of Northampton; viſcount Liſle, earl of Warwick; ſir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; ſir Richard Rich, ſir William Willoughby, ſir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of baron.[g] Several, to whom the ſame dignity was offered, refuſed it, becauſe the other part of the king's promiſes, the beſtowing of eſtates on theſe new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, as alſo Somerſet the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with ſpiritual preferments, deaneries and prebends; for, among many other invaſions of eccleſiaſtical privileges and property, this irregular practice of beſtowing ſpiritual benefices on laymen began now to prevail.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an oppoſite party to Somerſet; and it was not likely that factions, which had ſecretly prevailed even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, ſhould be ſuppreſſed in the weak adminiſtration that uſually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leiſure for attending to public buſineſs, had, of himſelf and from his own authority, put the great ſeal in commiſſion, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellaſis, to execute in his abſence the office of chancellor. This meaſure ſeemed very exceptionable; and the more ſo as, two of the commiſſioners being canoniſts, the lawyers ſuſpected that by this nomination the chancellor had intended to diſcredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depreſs Southampton. They conſulted the judges with regard to ſo unuſual a caſe, and received for anſwer that the commiſſion was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his preſumption in granting it, had juſtly forfeited the great ſeal, and

was even liable to puniſhment. The council ſummoned him to appear before them. He maintained that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not loſe it without a trial in parliament; that, if the commiſſion which he had granted was found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill conſequences of it be eaſily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorized. But the council, notwithſtanding theſe topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great ſeal, that a fine ſhould be impoſed upon him, and that he ſhould be confined to his own houſe during pleaſure.[h]

The removal of Southampton increaſed the protector's authority, as well as tended to ſuppreſs faction in the regency; yet was not Somerſet contented with this advantage; his ambition carried him to ſeek ſtill farther acquiſitions. On pretence that the vote of the executors, chooſing him protector, was not a ſufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overturned the will of Harry VIII, produced a total revolution in the government, and may ſeem even to have ſubverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himſelf protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, conſiſting of all the former counſellors and all the executors, except Southampton; he reſerved a power of naming any other counſellors at pleaſure; and he was bound to conſult with ſuch only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewiſe empowered to act at diſcretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public ſervice, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, ſtatute, proclamation, or ordinance whatſoever.[i] Even had this patent been more moderate in its conceſſions, and had it been drawn by directions from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality

might juſtly be queſtioned; ſince it ſeems eſſential to a truſt of this nature to be exerciſed by the perſons intruſted, and not to admit of a delegation to others: but, as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not ſo much as mentioned, appears to have been ſurreptitiouſly obtained from a minor king, the protectorſhip of Somerſet was a plain uſurpation, which it is impoſſible by any arguments to juſtify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their preſent acquieſcence in the new eſtabliſhment, made it be univerſally ſubmitted to; and, as the young king diſcovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was alſo in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and title. All men of ſenſe likewiſe, who ſaw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the oppoſite ſects, deemed it the more neceſſary to intruſt the government to one perſon, who might check the exorbitancies of faction, and enſure the public tranquillity. And, though ſome clauſes of the patent ſeemed to imply a formal ſubverſion of all limited government, ſo little jealouſy was then uſually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretenſions of this nature, advanced by any perſon poſſeſſed of ſovereign power. The actual exerciſe alone of arbitrary adminiſtration, and that in many, and great, and flagrant, and unpopular inſtances, was able ſometimes to give ſome umbrage to the nation.

REFORMATION COMPLETED.

THE extenſive authority and imperious character of Henry had retained the partiſans of both religions in ſubjection; but upon his demiſe the hopes of the proteſtants, and the fears of the catholics, began to revive, and the zeal of theſe parties produced every where diſputes and animoſities, the uſual preludes to more

fatal diviſions. The protector had long been regarded as a ſecret partiſan of the reformers; and, being now freed from reſtraint, he ſcrupled not to diſcover his intention of correcting all abuſes in the ancient religion, and of adopting ſtill more of the proteſtant innovations. He took care that all perſons intruſted with the king's education ſhould be attached to the ſame principles; and, as the young prince diſcovered a zeal for every kind of literature, eſpecially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foreſaw, in the courſe of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith in England; and they early began to declare themſelves in favour of thoſe tenets which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall few members of the council ſeemed to retain any attachment to the Romiſh communion; and moſt of the counſellors appeared even ſanguine in forwarding the progreſs of the reformation. The riches, which moſt of them had acquired from the ſpoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and, by eſtabliſhing a contrariety of ſpeculative tenets, as well as of diſcipline and worſhip, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable.[k] Their rapacity alſo, the chief ſource of their reforming ſpirit, was excited by the proſpect of pillaging the ſecular, as they had already done the regular, clergy; and they knew that, while any ſhare of the old principles remained, or any regard to the eccleſiaſtics, they could never hope to ſucceed in that enterpriſe.

The numerous and burdenſome ſuperſtitions, with which the Romiſh church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the ſpirit of oppoſition, into an enthuſiaſtic ſtrain of devotion: and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior obſervances, were zealouſly proſcribed by them as hindrances to their ſpiritual contemplations, and obſtructions to their immediate converſe with heaven. Many circumſtances concurred to inflame

this daring ſpirit; the novelty itſelf of their doctrines, the triumph of making proſelytes, the furious perſecutions to which they were expoſed, their animoſity againſt the ancient tenets and practices, and the neceſſity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depreſſing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the eccleſiaſtics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the oppoſition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was attended with conſequences which, though leſs durable, were for ſome time not leſs dangerous than thoſe which were connected with the ancient ſuperſtition. But, as the magiſtrate took the lead in England, the tranſition was more gradual; much of the ancient religion was ſtill preſerved; and a reaſonable degree of ſubordination was retained in diſcipline, as well as ſome pomp, order, and ceremony, in public worſhip.

The protector, in his ſchemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourſe to the counſels of Cranmer; who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averſe to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by inſenſible innovations, to that ſyſtem of doctrine and diſcipline which he deemed the moſt pure and perfect. He probably alſo foreſaw that a ſyſtem, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be moſt laſting; and that a devotion merely ſpiritual was fitted only for the firſt fervours of a new ſect, and upon the relaxation of theſe naturally gave place to the inroads of ſuperſtition. He ſeems, therefore, to have intended the eſtabliſhment of an hierarchy, which, being ſuited to a great and ſettled government, might ſtand as a perpetual barrier againſt Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthuſiaſtic zeal was diminiſhed, or entirely evaporated.

GARDINER'S OPPOSITION.

THE perſon, who oppoſed with greateſt authority any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late diſguſts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the higheſt truſt and confidence of his party. This prelate ſtill continued to magnify the great wiſdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally and ſincerely revered by the nation; and he inſiſted on the prudence of perſevering, at leaſt till the young king's majority, in the eccleſiaſtical model eſtabliſhed by that great monarch. He defended the uſe of images, which were now openly attacked by the proteſtants; and he repreſented them as ſerviceable in maintaining a ſenſe of religion among the illiterate multitude.[l] He even deigned to write an apology for holy water, which biſhop Ridley had decried in a ſermon; and he maintained that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an inſtrument of doing good; as much as the ſhadow of St. Peter, the hem of Chriſt's garment, or the ſpittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind.[m] Above all, he inſiſted that the laws ought to be obſerved, that the conſtitution ought to be preſerved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the ſovereign in oppoſition to an act of parliament.[n]

But, though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a conſtitution, ſufficient at leaſt to furniſh a topic of argument to ſuch as were diſcontented with any immediate exerciſe of authority, this plea could ſcarcely in the preſent caſe be maintained with any plauſibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had inveſted the crown with a legiſlative power; and

royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force of laws. The protector, finding himſelf ſupported by this ſtatute, was determined to employ his authority in favour of the reformers; and, having ſuſpended, during the interval, the juriſdiction of the biſhops, he appointed a general viſitation to be made in all the dioceſes of England.[o] The viſitors conſiſted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had ſix circuits aſſigned them. The chief purport of their inſtructions was, beſides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtitions, and to bring the diſcipline and worſhip ſomewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerſet and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The viſitors were enjoined to retain for the preſent all images which had not been abuſed to idolatry; and to inſtruct the people not to deſpiſe ſuch ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of ſome particular ſuperſtitions, ſuch as the ſprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or uſing of conſecrated candles, in order to drive away the devil.[p]

But nothing required more the correcting hand of authority than the abuſe of preaching, which was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the ancient practices and ſuperſtitions. The court of augmentation, in order to eaſe the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and theſe men were led by intereſt, as well as by inclination, to ſupport thoſe principles which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to reſtrain the topics of their ſermons; twelve homilies were publiſhed, which they were enjoined to read to the people; and all of them were prohibited, without expreſs permiſſion, from preaching any where but in their pariſh churches. The purpoſe of this injunction was to throw a reſtraint on the

catholic divines; while the proteſtant, by the grant of particular licenſes, ſhould be allowed unbounded liberty.

Bonner made ſome oppoſition to theſe meaſures, but ſoon after retracted and acquieſced. Gardiner was more high-ſpirited and more ſteady. He repreſented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the neceſſity of adhering to ſome ſyſtem. 'Tis a dangerous thing,' ſaid he, 'to uſe too much freedom in reſearches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a ſtop to people's demands, nor govern their indiſcretions at pleaſure. For my part,' ſaid he on another occaſion, 'my ſole concern is to manage the third and laſt act of my life with decency, and to make a handſome exit off the ſtage. Provided this point is ſecured, I am not ſolicitous about the reſt. I am already by nature condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this ſentence, nor ſo much as procure me a reprieve. To ſpeak my mind, and to act as my conſcience directs, are two branches of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in ſpeech, and integrity in action, are entertaining qualities: they will ſtick by a man when every thing elſe takes its leave; and I muſt not reſign them upon any conſideration. The beſt on it is, if I do not throw them away myſelf, no man can force them from me: but, if I give them up, then am I ruined by myſelf,[q] and deſerve to loſe all my preferments.' This oppoſition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was ſent to the Fleet, where he was uſed with ſome ſeverity.

One of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner againſt the new homilies, was, that they defined, with the moſt metaphyſical preciſion, the doctrines of grace and of juſtification by faith; points, he thought, which it was ſuperfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the compre-

henſion of the vulgar. A famous martyrologiſt calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, 'an inſenſible aſs, and one that had no feeling of God's Spirit' in the matter of juſtification.' The meaneſt proteſtant imagined, at that time, that he had a full comprehenſion of all thoſe myſterious doctrines; and he heartily deſpiſed the moſt learned and knowing perſon of the ancient religion, who acknowledged his ignorance with regard to them. It is indeed certain that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of juſtification, and might venture to foretell its ſucceſs, in oppoſition to all the ceremonies, ſhews, and ſuperſtitions of popery. By exalting Chriſt and his ſufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourſelves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with thoſe principles of panegyric and of ſelf-abaſement which generally have place in religion.

Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made ſome oppoſition to the new regulations, was diſmiſſed the council; but no farther ſeverity was, for the preſent, exerciſed againſt him. He was a man of great moderation, and of the moſt unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The ſame religious zeal, which engaged Somerſet to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries, where the intereſts of the proteſtants were now expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at laſt ſummoned a general council, which was aſſembled at Trent, and was employed, both in correcting the abuſes of the church and in aſcertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who deſired to repreſs the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the pro-

teſtants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatneſs ſo deeply intereſted, deſired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave inſtructions to his legates, who preſided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in argument, and altercation, and diſpute, concerning the nice points of faith canvaſſed before them: a policy ſo eaſy to be executed, that the legates ſoon found it rather neceſſary to interpoſe, in order to appeaſe the animoſity of the divines, and bring them at laſt to ſome deciſion.[s] The more difficult taſk for the legates was to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repreſs the ambition of the prelates, who deſired to exalt the epiſcopal authority on the ruins of the ſovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become prevalent, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broken out at Trent, transferred of a ſudden the council to Bologna, where they hoped it would be more under the direction of his holineſs.

The emperor, no leſs than the pope, had learned to make religion ſubſervient to his ambition and policy. He was reſolved to employ the imputation of hereſy as a pretence for ſubduing the proteſtant princes, and oppreſſing the liberties of Germany; but found it neceſſary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adverſaries. He ſeparated the palatine and the elector of Brandenburgh from the proteſtant confederacy: he took arms againſt the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe; by the fortune of war he made the former priſoner: he employed treachery and prevarication againſt the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a ſafe-conduct which he had granted him. He ſeemed to have reached the ſummit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were aſtoniſhed with his ſucceſs, were farther diſcouraged by the intelligence which they had received of the death, firſt

of Henry VIII, then of Francis I; their uſual reſources in every calamity.

Henry II, who ſucceeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and abilities; but leſs haſty in his reſolution than Francis, and leſs inflamed with rivalſhip and animoſity againſt the emperor Charles. Though he ſent ambaſſadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic league, and promiſed them protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war with ſo great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that the alliance of thoſe princes was a ſure reſource, which he could at any time lay hold of. He was much governed by the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine; and he hearkened to their counſel, in chooſing rather to give immediate aſſiſtance to Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of Henry VIII, had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

The hatred between the two factions, the partiſans of the ancient and thoſe of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the reſolution which the cardinal primate had taken, to employ the moſt rigorous puniſhments againſt the reformers, brought matters to a quick deciſion. There was one Wiſhart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himſelf with great zeal in preaching againſt the ancient ſuperſtitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were juſtly terrified with the danger of ſome fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and for his extenſive learning: but theſe praiſes cannot be much depended on; becauſe we know that, among the reformers, ſeverity of manners ſupplied the place of many virtues; and the age was in general

ſo ignorant, that moſt of the prieſts in Scotland imagined the New Teſtament to be a compoſition of Luther's, and aſſerted that the Old alone was the word of God.[x] But, however the caſe may have ſtood with regard to thoſe eſtimable qualities aſcribed to Wiſhart, he was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the deſire of innovation; and he enjoyed thoſe talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for ſeizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magiſtrates of Dundee, where he exerciſed his miſſion, were alarmed with his progreſs; and, being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themſelves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with diſmiſſing him the bounds of their juriſdiction. Wiſhart, moved with indignation that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with ſome imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the weſt country, where he daily increaſed the number of his proſelytes. Meanwhile a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed that the town had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven by baniſhing the pious preacher, and that the peſtilence would never ceaſe till they had made him atonement for their offence againſt him. No ſooner did Wiſhart hear of this change in their diſpoſition than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: but, leſt he ſhould ſpread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate; the infected ſtood within, the others without. And the preacher failed not, in ſuch a ſituation, to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical miſſion.[y]

The aſſiduity and ſucceſs of Wiſhart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he reſolved, by the puniſhment of ſo celebrated a preacher, to ſtrike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwel to arreſt him, and

to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promiſe given by Bothwel to that unhappy man: and, being poſſeſſed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrews, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for hereſy. Arran, the governor, was irreſolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had gained him over to his party, found that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wiſhart. He determined, therefore, without the aſſiſtance of the ſecular arm, to bring that heretic to puniſhment; and he himſelf beheld from his window the diſmal ſpectacle. Wiſhart ſuffered with the uſual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his inſulting enemy. He foretold that, in a few days, he ſhould in the very ſame place lie as low as now he was exalted aloft in oppoſition to true piety and religion.*

ASSASSINATION OF CARDINAL BEATON.

This prophecy was probably the immediate cauſe of the event which it foretold. The diſciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conſpiracy againſt the cardinal; and, having aſſociated to them Norman Leſly, who was diſguſted on account of ſome private quarrel, they conducted their enterpriſe with great ſecrecy and ſucceſs. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had ſtrongly fortified; and, though they were not above ſixteen perſons, they thruſt out a hundred tradeſmen and fifty ſervants, whom they ſeized ſeparately, before any ſuſpicion aroſe of their intentions; and, having ſhut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpoſe on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noiſe which he heard in the caſtle; and had barricadoed the door of his chamber: but, finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a

promiſe of life, he opened the door; and, reminding them that he was a prieſt, he conjured them to ſpare him. Two of the aſſaſſins ruſhed upon him with drawn ſwords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more conſiderate in villany, ſtopped their career, and bade them reflect that this ſacrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then, turning the point of his ſword towards Beaton, he called to him, 'Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy ſins and iniquities, eſpecially of the murder of Wiſhart, that inſtrument of God for the converſion of theſe lands: it is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee: we are ſent by God to inflict the deſerved puniſhment. For here, before the Almighty, I proteſt that it is neither hatred of thy perſon, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to ſeek thy death; but only becauſe thou haſt been, and ſtill remaineſt, an obſtinate enemy to Chriſt Jeſus, and his holy goſpel.' Having ſpoken theſe words, without giving Beaton time to finiſh that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thruſt him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet.[a] This murder was executed on the twenty-eighth of May 1546. The aſſaſſins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of a hundred and forty perſons, prepared themſelves for the defence of the caſtle, and ſent a meſſenger to London, craving aſſiſtance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of diſturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promiſed to take them under his protection.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland that five ſhort reigns had been ſucceſſively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of juſtice, which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions,

and animoſities, of the great. But, beſides theſe inveterate and ancient evils, a new ſource of diſorder had ariſen, the diſputes and contentions of theology, which were ſufficient to diſturb the moſt ſettled government; and the death of the cardinal, who was poſſeſſed of abilities and vigour, ſeemed much to weaken the hands of the adminiſtration. But the queen dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtue; and ſhe did as much to ſupport the government, and ſupply the weakneſs of Arran the governor, as could be expected in her ſituation.

CONDUCT OF THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

The protector of England, as ſoon as the ſtate was brought to ſome compoſure, made preparations for war with Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if poſſible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been ſo intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of eighteen thouſand men, and equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail, one half of which were ſhips of war, the other laden with proviſions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to lord Clinton: he himſelf marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwick. Theſe hoſtile meaſures were covered with a pretence of revenging ſome depredations committed by the borderers; but, beſides that Somerſet revived the ancient claim of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh crown over that of Scotland, he refuſed to enter into negociation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

The protector, before he opened the campaign, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that meaſure. He ſaid that nature ſeemed originally to have intended this iſland for one empire; and, having cut it off from all com-

munication with foreign ſtates, and guarded it by the ocean, ſhe had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happineſs and to ſecurity: that the education and cuſtoms of the people concurred with nature; and, by giving them the ſame language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition: that fortune had at laſt removed all obſtacles, and had prepared an expedient by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealouſy, either of honour or of intereſts, to which rival nations are naturally expoſed: that the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female, that of England on a male; and happily the two ſovereigns, as of a rank, were alſo of an age the moſt ſuitable to each other: that the hoſtile diſpoſitions which prevailed between the nations, and which aroſe from paſt injuries, would ſoon be extinguiſhed, after a long and ſecure peace had eſtabliſhed confidence between them: that the memory of former miſeries, which at preſent inflamed their mutual animoſity, would then ſerve only to make them cheriſh, with more paſſion, a ſtate of happineſs and tranquillity ſo long unknown to their anceſtors: that, when hoſtilities had ceaſed between the kingdoms, the Scottiſh nobility, who were at preſent obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike poſture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would ſoften their minds to a love of domeſtic order and obedience: that, as this ſituation was deſirable to both kingdoms, ſo particularly to Scotland, which had been expoſed to the greateſt miſeries from inteſtine and foreign wars, and ſaw herſelf every moment in danger of loſing her independency by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people: that, though England had claims of ſuperiority, ſhe was willing to reſign every pretenſion for the ſake of future peace; and deſired an union, which would be the more ſecure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: and that, beſides all theſe motives, poſitive engagements had

been taken for completing this alliance; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her intereſt and ſafety ſo loudly demanded.[b]

Somerſet ſoon perceived that theſe remonſtrances would have no influence; and that the queen dowager's attachment to France and to the catholic religion would render ineffectual all negociations for the intended marriage. He found himſelf, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to conſtrain the Scots by neceſſity to ſubmit to a meaſure for which they ſeemed to have entertained the moſt incurable averſion. He paſſed the borders at Berwick, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any reſiſtance for ſome days, except from ſome ſmall caſtles which he obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The protector intended to have puniſhed the governor and garriſon of one of theſe caſtles for their temerity in reſiſting ſuch unequal force: but they eluded his anger by aſking only a few hours' reſpite, till they ſhould prepare themſelves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy.[c]

The governor of Scotland had ſummoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the Engliſh, had taken poſt on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eſke, about four miles from Edinburgh. The Engliſh came within ſight of them at Faſide; and, after a ſkirmiſh between the horſe, where the Scots were worſted and lord Hume dangerouſly wounded, Somerſet prepared himſelf for a more deciſive action: but, having taken a view of the Scottiſh camp with the earl of Warwick, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of ſucceſs. He wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would ſtipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till

ſhe reached the age of chooſing a huſband for herſelf. So moderate a demand was rejected by the Scots merely on account of its moderation; and it made them imagine that the protector muſt either be reduced to great diſtreſs, or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate ſo much of his former pretenſions. Inflamed alſo by their prieſts, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the Engliſh were deteſtable heretics, abhorred of God, and expoſed to divine vengeance; and that no ſucceſs could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit when they ſaw the protector change his ground, and move towards the ſea; nor did they any longer doubt that he intended to embark his army, and make his eſcape on board the ſhips, which at that very time moved into the bay oppoſite to him.[a] Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp; and, paſſing the river Eſke, advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the vanguard, Arran the main body, Huntley the rear: their cavalry conſiſted only of light horſe, which were placed on their left flank, ſtrengthened by ſome Iriſh archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this ſervice.

THE BATTLE OF PINKEY.

Somerset was much pleaſed when he ſaw this movement of the Scottiſh army; and, as the Engliſh had uſually been ſuperior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of ſucceſs. He ranged his van on the left, fartheſt from the ſea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds, on which he placed them, till the enemy ſhould approach: he placed his main battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he poſted lord Grey at the head of the men at arms, and ordered him to take

the Scottiſh van in flank, but not till they ſhould be engaged in cloſe fight with the van of the Engliſh.

While the Scots were advancing on the plain they were galled with the artillery from the Engliſh ſhips; the eldeſt ſon of lord Graham was killed; the Iriſh archers were thrown into diſorder; and even the other troops began to ſtagger: when lord Grey, perceiving their ſituation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and, at the head of his heavy-armed horſe, made an attack on the Scottiſh infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found a ſlough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the enemy armed with ſpears, and the field on which they ſtood was fallow ground, broken with ridges which lay acroſs their front, and diſordered the movements of the Engliſh cavalry. From all theſe accidents, the ſhock of this body of horſe was feeble and irregular; and, as they were received on the points of the Scottiſh ſpears, which were longer than the lances of the Engliſh horſemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and diſcomfited. Grey himſelf was dangerouſly wounded; lord Edward Seymour, ſon of the protector, had his horſe killed under him; the ſtandard was near being taken; and, had the Scots poſſeſſed any good body of cavalry, who could have purſued the advantage, the whole Engliſh army had been expoſed to great danger.

The protector, meanwhile, aſſiſted by ſir Ralph Sadler and ſir Ralph Vane, employed himſelf with diligence and ſucceſs in rallying the cavalry. Warwick ſhewed great preſence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horſe had recoiled: he made ſir Peter Meutas advance, captain of the foot harquebuſiers, and ſir Peter Gamboa, captain of ſome Italian and Spaniſh harquebuſiers on horſeback; and ordered them to ply the Scottiſh infantry with their ſhot. They marched to the ſlough, and diſcharged their pieces full in the face of the ene-

my; the ſhips galled them from the flank; the artillery, planted on a height, infeſted them from the front; the Engliſh archers poured in a ſhower of arrows upon them; and the vanguard, deſcending from the hill, advanced leiſurely, and in good order, towards them. Diſmayed with all theſe circumſtances, the Scottiſh van began to retreat; the retreat ſoon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Iriſh archers. The panic of the van communicated itſelf to the main body, and, paſſing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a ſcene of confuſion, terror, flight, and conſternation. The Engliſh army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the purſuit with loud ſhouts and acclamations, which added ſtill more to the diſmay of the vanquiſhed. The horſe in particular, eager to revenge the affront which they had received in the beginning of the day, did the moſt bloody execution on the flying enemy; and, from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the ſpace of five miles, the whole ground was ſtrewed with dead bodies. The prieſts, above all, and the monks, received no quarter; and the Engliſh made ſport of ſlaughtering men who, from their extreme zeal and animoſity, had engaged in an enterpriſe ſo ill befitting their profeſſion. Few victories have been more deciſive, or gained with ſmaller loſs to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the Engliſh; and, according to the moſt moderate computation, there periſhed above ten thouſand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken priſoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's ſeat of that name in the neighbourhood.

The queen dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were ſcarcely able to collect ſuch a body of forces as could check the incurſions of ſmall parties of the Engliſh. About the ſame time the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the weſt marches, at the head of five thouſand men; and, after taking

and plundering Annan, they ſpread devaſtation over all the neighbouring counties.[4] Had Somerſet proſecuted his advantages, he might have impoſed what terms he pleaſed on the Scottiſh nation: but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard ſome counſellors, and even his own brother[5] the admiral, were carrying on cabals againſt his authority. Having taken the caſtles of Hume, Dunglaſs, Eymouth, Faſtcaſtle, Roxborough, and ſome other ſmall places, and having received the ſubmiſſion of ſome counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, beſides deſtroying all the ſhipping along the coaſt, took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and, having fortified it, they there left a garriſon. Arran deſired leave to ſend commiſſioners, in order to treat of a peace; and Somerſet, having appointed Berwick for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negociate. But no commiſſioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice to gain time till ſuccours ſhould arrive from France.

A PARLIAMENT.

The protector, on his arrival in England, ſummoned a parliament; and, being ſomewhat elated with his ſucceſs againſt the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to ſit on the throne, upon a ſtool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the ſame honours and privileges that had uſually been poſſeſſed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent the king employed his diſpenſing power, by ſetting aſide the ſtatute of precedency enacted during the former reign.[6] But, if Somerſet gave offence by aſſuming too much ſtate, he deſerves great praiſe on account of the laws paſſed this ſeſſion, by which the rigour of former ſtatutes was much mitigated, and ſome ſecurity given to the

freedom of the conſtitution. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III;[h] all laws enacted, during the late reign, extending the crime of felony; all the former laws againſt Lollardy or hereſy, together with the ſtatute of the ſix articles. None were to be accuſed for words, but within a month after they were ſpoken. By theſe repeals ſeveral of the moſt rigorous laws that ever had paſſed in England were annulled; and ſome dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Hereſy, however, was ſtill a capital crime by the common law, and was ſubjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no preciſe ſtandard by which that crime could be defined or determined: a circumſtance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public ſecurity, according to the diſpoſition of the judges.

A repeal alſo paſſed of that law, the deſtruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a ſtatute.[i] That other law likewiſe was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every ſtatute paſſed before the four and twentieth year of his age: he could prevent their future execution, but could not recall any paſt effects which had enſued from them.[k]

It was alſo enacted that all who denied the king's ſupremacy, or aſſerted the pope's, ſhould for the firſt offence forfeit their goods and chattels, and ſuffer impriſonment during pleaſure; for the ſecond offence ſhould incur the penalty of a præmunire; and for the third be attainted of treaſon. But if any, after the firſt of March enſuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his eſtate or titles, particularly of his ſupremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treaſon. If any of the heirs of the crown ſhould uſurp upon another, or endeavour to break

the order of ſucceſſion, it was declared treaſon in them, their aiders and abettors. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable acts paſſed during this ſeſſion. The members in general diſcovered a very paſſive diſpoſition with regard to religion; ſome few appeared zealous for the reformation; others ſecretly harboured a ſtrong propenſity to the catholic faith; but the greater part appeared willing to take any impreſſion which they ſhould receive from intereſt, authority, or the reigning faſhion.[l]

The convocation met at the ſame time with the parliament; and, as it was found that their debates were at firſt cramped by the rigorous ſtatute of the ſix articles, the king granted them a diſpenſation from that law before it was repealed by parliament.[m] The lower houſe of convocation applied to have liberty of ſitting with the commons in parliament; or, if this privilege were refuſed them, which they claimed as their ancient right, they deſired that no law regarding religion might paſs in parliament without their conſent and approbation. But the principles which now prevailed were more favourable to the civil than to the eccleſiaſtical power; and this demand of the convocation was rejected.

FARTHER PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION. 1548.

The protector had aſſented to the repeal of that law which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of ſtatutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or diſcretionary exerciſe of power, in iſſuing proclamations, which had ever been aſſumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to diſtinguiſh exactly from a full legiſlative power. He even continued to exert this authority in ſome particulars, which were then regarded as the moſt momentous. Orders were iſſued by council, that candles ſhould no longer be carried about on Candlemas-

day, aſhes on Aſh-wedneſday, palms on Palm-ſunday.[n] Theſe were ancient religious practices, now termed ſuperſtitions; though it is fortunate for mankind when ſuperſtition happens to take a direction ſo innocent and inoffenſive. The ſevere diſpoſition, which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewiſe the council to aboliſh ſome gay and ſhewy ceremonies which belonged to the ancient religion.[o]

An order was alſo iſſued by council for the removal of all images from the churches; an innovation which was much deſired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almoſt to a total change of the eſtabliſhed religion.[p] An attempt had been made to ſeparate the uſe of images from their abuſe, the reverence from the worſhip of them; but the execution of this deſign was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

As private maſſes were aboliſhed by law, it became neceſſary to compoſe a new communion ſervice; and the council went ſo far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confeſſion wholly indifferent.[q] This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the moſt powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their ſpiritual guides an entire aſcendant over them. And it may juſtly be ſaid that, though the prieſt's abſolution, which attends confeſſion, ſerves ſomewhat to eaſe weak minds from the immediate agonies of ſuperſtitious terror, it operates only by enforcing ſuperſtition itſelf, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapſe into the ſame diſorders.

The people were at that time extremely diſtracted by the oppoſite opinions of their preachers; and, as they were totally unable to judge of the reaſons advanced on either ſide, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church as of

equal authority, a great confuſion and fluctuation reſulted from this uncertainty. The council had firſt endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by laying ſome reſtraints on preaching; but, finding this expedient ineffectual, they impoſed a total ſilence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit. By the nature of things, this reſtraint could only be temporary; for, in proportion as the ceremonies of public worſhip, its ſhews and exterior obſervances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to contract a ſtronger attachment to ſermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amuſement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries ſomething to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking. Sermons were delivered only in the principal churches, and at ſome particular faſts and feſtivals; and the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abuſed, is ſo powerful an incitement to faction and ſedition, had much leſs ſcope and influence during thoſe ages.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

The greater progreſs was made towards a reformation in England, the farther did the protector find himſelf from all proſpect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averſe to all alliance with a nation which had ſo far departed from all ancient principles. Somerſet, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be ſtrongly garriſoned and fortified by lord Grey; he alſo erected ſome fortifications at Lauder; and he hoped that theſe two places, together with Broughty and ſome ſmaller fortreſſes, which were in the hands of the Engliſh, would ſerve as a curb on Scotland, and would give him acceſs into the heart of the country.

Arran, being diſappointed in ſome attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the ſuccours expected from France for the recovery of theſe places; and they arrived at laſt in the Frith, to the number of ſix thouſand men, half of them Germans. They were commanded by Deſſe, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time ſo ſunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred Engliſh horſe were able to ravage the whole country without reſiſtance, and make inroads to the gates of the capital:[s] but, on the appearance of the French ſuccours, they collected more courage; and, having joined Deſſe with a conſiderable reinforcement, they laid ſiege to Haddington.[t] This was an undertaking for which they were by themſelves totally unfit; and, even with the aſſiſtance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of ſucceſs in ſtarving the garriſon. After ſome vain attempts to take the place by a regular ſiege, the blockade was formed, and the garriſon was repulſed with loſs in ſeveral ſallies which they made upon the beſiegers.

YOUNG QUEEN OF SCOTS SENT INTO FRANCE.

THE hoſtile attempts which the late king and the protector had made againſt Scotland not being ſteady, regular, nor puſhed to the laſt extremity, had ſerved only to irritate the nation, and to inſpire them with the ſtrongeſt averſion to that union which was courted in ſo violent a manner. Even thoſe who were inclined to the Engliſh alliance were diſpleaſed to have it impoſed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley, in particular, ſaid pleaſantly, that he diſliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing.[u] The queen dowager, finding theſe ſentiments to prevail, called a parliament in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there propoſed that the young queen, for

her greater ſecurity, ſhould be ſent to France, and be committed to the cuſtody of that ancient ally. Some objected that this meaſure was deſperate, allowed no reſource in caſe of miſcarriage, expoſed the Scots to be ſubjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient by which they could conciliate the friendſhip of that powerful nation. It was anſwered, on the other hand, that the queen's preſence was the very cauſe of war with England; that that nation would deſiſt when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by ſo high a mark of confidence, would take their ſovereign under his protection, and uſe his utmoſt efforts to defend the kingdom. Theſe arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully diſtributed among the nobles. The governor had a penſion conferred on him of twelve thouſand livres a year, received the title of duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his ſon the command of a hundred men at arms.[x] And, as the clergy dreaded the conſequence of the Engliſh alliance, they ſeconded this meaſure with all the zeal and induſtry which either principle or intereſt could inſpire. It was accordingly determined to ſend the queen to France; and, what was underſtood to be the neceſſary conſequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French gallies lying in the Frith of Forth, ſet ſail as if he intended to return home; but, when he reached the open ſea, he turned northwards, paſſed by the Orkneys, and came in on the weſt coaſt at Dunbarton: an extraordinary voyage for ſhips of that fabric.[y] The young queen was there committed to him; and, being attended by the lords Areſkine and Livingſtone, ſhe put to ſea, and, after meeting with ſome tempeſtuous weather, arrived ſafely at Breſt, whence ſhe was conducted to Paris, and ſoon after ſhe was betrothed to the dauphin.

Somerſet, preſſed by many difficulties at home, and deſpairing of ſucceſs in his enterpriſe againſt Scotland, was deſirous of compoſing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years' truce; but, as they inſiſted on his reſtoring all the places which he had taken, the propoſal came to nothing. The Scots recovered the fortreſſes of Hume and Faſtcaſtle by ſurpriſe, and put the garriſons to the ſword: they repulſed with loſs the Engliſh, who, under the command of lord Seymour, made a deſcent, firſt in Fife, then at Montroſe. In the former action James Stuart, natural brother to the queen, acquired honour; in the latter, Areſkine of Dun. An attempt was made by ſir Robert Bowes and ſir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a conſiderable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but theſe troops, falling into an ambuſcade, were almoſt wholly cut in pieces. And, though a ſmall body of two hundred men eſcaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived ſafely in Haddington, with ſome ammunition and proviſions, the garriſon was reduced to ſuch difficulties, that the protector found it neceſſary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raiſed an army of eighteen thouſand men, and, adding three thouſand Germans, who on the diſſolution of the proteſtant alliance had offered their ſervice to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewſbury. Deſſe raiſed the blockade on the approach of the Engliſh; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he poſted himſelf advantageouſly. Shrewſbury, who had loſt the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durſt not give him battle in his preſent ſituation; and, contenting himſelf with the advantage already gained of ſupplying Haddington, he retired into England.

CABALS OF LORD SEYMOUR.

THOUGH the protection of France was of great conſequence to the Scots, in ſupporting them againſt the invaſions of England, they reaped ſtill more benefit from the diſtractions and diviſions which had creeped into the councils of this latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not content with the high ſtations which they ſeverally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had riſen, had entertained the moſt violent jealouſy of each other; and they divided the whole court and kingdom by their oppoſite cabals and pretenſions. Lord Seymour was a man of inſatiable ambition; arrogant, aſſuming, implacable; and, though eſteemed of ſuperior capacity to the protector, he poſſeſſed not to the ſame degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and addreſs he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the queen dowager, that, forgetting her uſual prudence and decency, ſhe married him immediately upon the demiſe of the late king; inſomuch that, had ſhe ſoon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which huſband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance ſupported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the ducheſs of Somerſet, who, uneaſy that the younger brother's wife ſhould have the precedency, employed all her credit with her huſband, which was too great, firſt to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers.

The firſt ſymptoms of this miſunderſtanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerſet, remarked that Seymour was forming ſeparate intrigues among the counſellors; was corrupting, by preſents, the king's ſervants; and even endeavouring, by impro-

per indulgences and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget repreſented to him the danger of this conduct; deſired him to reflect on the numerous enemies whom the ſudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him that any diſſenſion between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of to effect the ruin of both. Finding his remonſtrances neglected, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerſet, and engaged him to leave the enterprife upon Scotland unfiniſhed, in order to guard againſt the attempts of his domeſtic enemies. In the enſuing parliament the admiral's projects appeared ſtill more dangerous to public tranquillity; and, as he had acquired many partiſans, he made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He repreſented to his friends that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom had been kept ſeparate from that of governor of the king's perſon; and that the preſent union of theſe two important truſts conferred on Somerſet an authority which could not ſafely be lodged in any ſubject.[c] The young king was even prevailed on to write a letter to the parliament, deſiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed a party in the two houſes, by which he hoped to effect his purpoſe. The deſign was diſcovered before its execution; and ſome common friends were ſent to remonſtrate with him; but had ſo little influence, that he threw out many menacing expreſſions, and raſhly threatened that, if he were thwarted in his attempt, he would make this parliament the blackeſt that ever ſat in England.[d] The council ſent for him to anſwer for his conduct, but he refuſed to attend: they then began to threaten in their turn, and informed him that the king's letter, inſtead of availing him any thing to the execution of his views, would be imputed to him as a criminal enterprife, and be conſtrued as a deſign to diſturb the government, by forming a ſeparate intereſt with a

child and minor. They even let fall ſome menaces of ſending him to the tower for his temerity; and the admiral, finding himſelf prevented in his deſign, was obliged to ſubmit, and to deſire a reconciliation with his brother.

The mild and moderate temper of Somerſet made him willing to forget theſe enterpriſes of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent ſpirit could not be ſo eaſily appeaſed. His ſpouſe, the queen dowager, died in child-bed; but, ſo far from regarding this event as a check to his aſpiring views, he founded on it the ſcheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addreſſes to the lady Elizabeth, then in the ſixteenth year of her age; and that princeſs, whom even the hurry of buſineſs and the purſuits of ambition could not, in her more advanced years, diſengage entirely from the tender paſſions, ſeems to have liſtened to the inſinuations of a man who poſſeſſed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair. But, as Henry VIII had excluded his daughters from all hopes of ſucceſſion if they married without the conſent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain, it was concluded that he meant to effect his purpoſe by expedients ſtill more raſh and more criminal. All the other meaſures of the admiral tended to confirm this ſuſpicion. He continued to attack, by preſents, the fidelity of thoſe who had more immediate acceſs to the king's perſon: he endeavoured to ſeduce the young prince into his intereſts: he found means of holding a private correſpondence with him: he openly decried his brother's adminiſtration; and aſſerted that, by inliſting Germans and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which might endanger the king's authority, and the liberty of the people. By promiſes and perſuaſion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his intereſt all over England: he neglected not even the moſt popular perſons of inferior rank; and had com-

puted that he could, on occaſion, muſter an army of ten thouſand men, compoſed of his ſervants, tenants, and retainers:[f] he had already provided arms for their uſe; and, having engaged in his intereſts ſir John Sharington, a corrupt man, maſter of the mint at Briſtol, he flattered himſelf that money would not be wanting. Somerſet was well appriſed of all theſe alarming circumſtances, and endeavoured, by the moſt friendly expedients, by intreaty, reaſon, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him deſiſt from his dangerous counſels; but, finding all endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more ſevere remedies. The earl of Warwick was an ill inſtrument between the brothers; and had formed the deſign, by inflaming the quarrel, to raiſe his own fortune on the ruins of both.

DUDLEY EARL OF WARWICK.

DUDLEY, earl of Warwick, was the ſon of that Dudley, miniſter to Henry VII, who, having by rapine, extortion, and perverſion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been ſacrificed to popular animoſity in the beginning of the ſubſequent reign. The late king, ſenſible of the iniquity, at leaſt illegality, of the ſentence, had afterwards reſtored young Dudley's blood by act of parliament; and, finding him endowed with abilities, induſtry, and activity, he had intruſted him with many important commands, and had ever found him ſucceſsful in his undertakings. He raiſed him to the dignity of viſcount Liſle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made ſtill farther progreſs during the minority; and, having obtained the title of earl of Warwick, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the chief rank among the protector's counſellors. The victory gained at Pinkey was much aſcribed to his courage and conduct; and he

was univerſally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all theſe virtues were obſcured by ſtill greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an inſatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of juſtice: and, as he found that lord Seymour, whoſe abilities and enterpriſing ſpirit he chiefly dreaded, was involving himſelf in ruin by his raſh counſels, he was determined to puſh him on the precipice, and thereby remove the chief obſtacle to his own projected greatneſs.

When Somerſet found that the public peace was endangered by his brother's ſeditious, not to ſay rebellious, ſchemes, he was the more eaſily perſuaded by Warwick to employ the extent of royal authority againſt him; and, after depriving him of the office of admiral, he ſigned a warrant for committing him to the tower. Some of his accomplices were alſo taken into cuſtody; and three privy counſellors, being ſent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important diſcoveries. Yet ſtill the protector ſuſpended the blow, and ſhewed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to deſiſt from the proſecution if Seymour would promiſe him a cordial reconciliation, and, renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But, as Seymour made no other anſwer to theſe friendly offers than menaces and defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up againſt him, conſiſting of thirty-three articles;[g] and the whole to be laid before the privy council. It is pretended that every particular was ſo inconteſtably proved, both by witneſſes and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the tower, in order more fully to examine the priſoner. He was not daunted by the appearance; he boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witneſſes; deſired that the charge might be left with him,

in order to be conſidered; and refuſed to anſwer any interrogatories by which he might accuſe himſelf.

It is apparent that, notwithſtanding what is pretended, there muſt have been ſome deficiency in the evidence againſt Seymour, when ſuch demands, founded on the plaineſt principles of law and equity, were abſolutely rejected. We ſhall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and ſcarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, ſuſceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that, though on the whole Seymour appears to have been a dangerous ſubject, he had not advanced far in thoſe treaſonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his actual guilt ſeems to have conſiſted in ſome unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impoſitions laid upon the merchants.

ATTAINDER AND EXECUTION OF LORD SEYMOUR. 1549.

But the adminiſtration had at that time an eaſy inſtrument of vengeance, to wit, the parliament; and needed not to give themſelves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the perſons whom they proſecuted, or the evidence which could be produced againſt them. A ſeſſion of parliament being held, it was reſolved to proceed againſt Seymour by bill of attainder; and, the young king being induced, after much ſolicitation, to give his conſent to it, a conſiderable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was firſt laid before the upper houſe; and ſeveral peers, riſing up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. Theſe narratives were received as undoubted evidence; and, though the priſoner had formerly engaged many friends and partiſans among the nobility, no one had either the

courage or equity to move that he might be heard in his defence, that the teſtimony againſt him ſhould be delivered in a legal manner, and that he ſhould be confronted with the witneſſes. A little more ſcruple was made in the houſe of commons: there were even ſome members who objected againſt the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder paſſed in abſence; and inſiſted that a formal trial ſhould be given to every man before his condemnation. But, when a meſſage was ſent by the king enjoining the houſe to proceed, and offering that the ſame narratives ſhould be laid before them which had ſatisfied the peers, they were eaſily prevailed on to acquieſce.[h] The bill paſſed in a full houſe. Near four hundred voted for it, not above nine or ten againſt it.[i] The ſentence was ſoon after executed, and the priſoner was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was ſigned by Somerſet, who was expoſed to much blame on account of the violence of theſe proceedings. The attempts of the admiral ſeem chiefly to have been levelled againſt his brother's uſurped authority; and, though his ambitious enterpriſing character, encouraged by a marriage with the lady Elizabeth, might have endangered the public tranquillity, the prudence of foreſeeing evils at ſuch a diſtance was deemed too great, and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be ſaid that this bill of attainder was ſomewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones, to which the nation had been inured; for here at leaſt ſome ſhadow of evidence was produced.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

All the conſiderable buſineſs tranſacted this ſeſſion, beſides the attainder of lord Seymour, regarded eccleſiaſtical affairs; which were now the chief object of attention throughout the nation. A committee of biſhops and divines had been appointed by the

council to compoſe a liturgy; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with moderation in this delicate undertaking; they retained as much of the ancient maſs as the principles of the reformers would permit; they indulged nothing to the ſpirit of contradiction, which ſo naturally takes place in all great innovations; and they flattered themſelves that they had eſtabliſhed a ſervice in which every denomination of Chriſtians might without ſcruple concur. The maſs had always been celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed abſurd, had it not been found uſeful to the clergy, by impreſſing the people with an idea of ſome myſterious unknown virtue in thoſe rites, and by checking all their pretenſions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion. But, as the reformers pretended in ſome few particulars to encourage private judgment in the laity, the tranſlation of the liturgy, as well as of the ſcriptures, into the vulgar tongue, ſeemed more conformable to the genius of their ſect; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to ſaints, and of ſome ſuperſtitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old maſs and the new liturgy. The parliament eſtabliſhed this form of worſhip in all the churches, and ordained a uniformity to be obſerved in all the rites and ceremonies.[k]

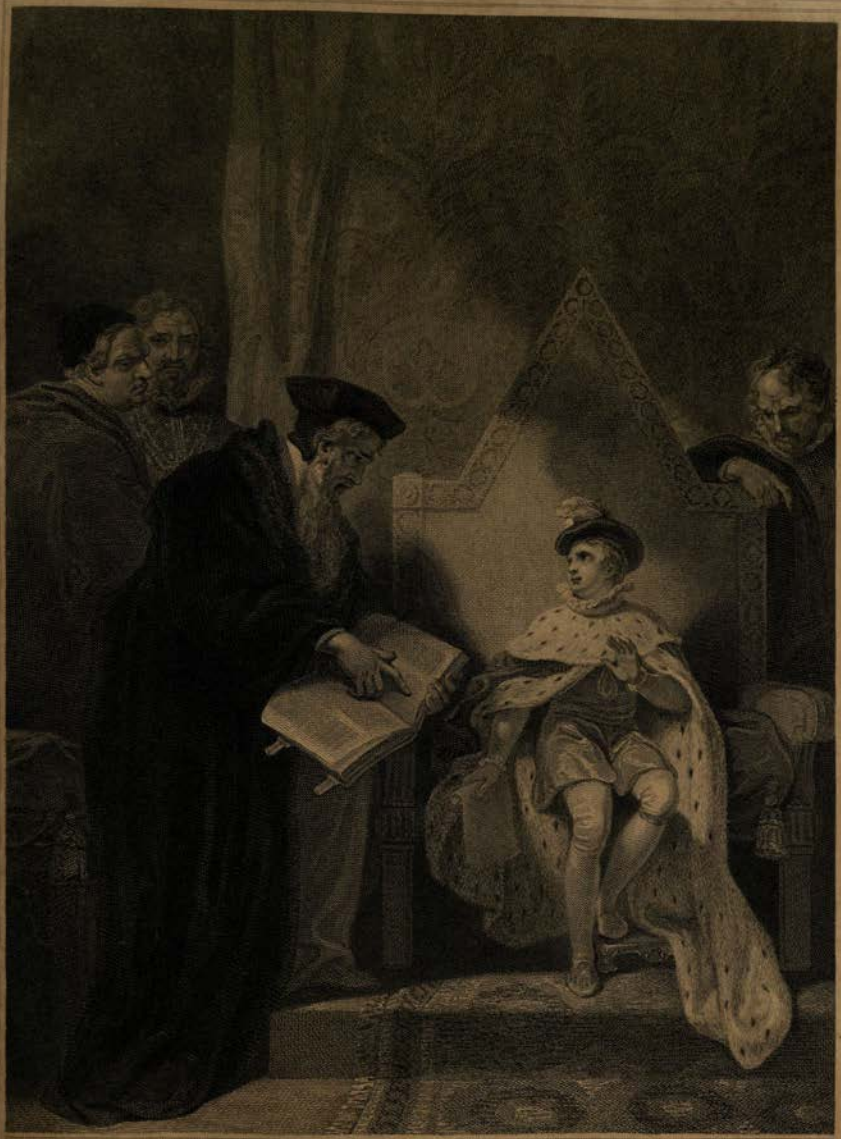
There was another material act which paſſed this ſeſſion. The former canons had eſtabliſhed the celibacy of the clergy; and, though this practice is uſually aſcribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought that the eccleſiaſtics would be more devoted to their ſpiritual head, and leſs dependent on the civil magiſtrate, when freed from the powerful tie of wives and children; yet was this inſtitution much forwarded by the principles of ſuperſtition inherent in human nature. Theſe principles had rendered the panegyrics on an inviolate chaſtity ſo frequent among the ancient fathers, long before the eſtabliſhment of celibacy.

And even this parliament, though they enacted a law permitting the marriage of prieſts, yet confeſs, in the preamble, 'that it were better for prieſts, and the miniſters of the church, to live chaſte and without marriage, and it were much to be wiſhed they would of themſelves abſtain.' The inconveniences which had ariſen from the compelling of chaſtity, and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reaſons aſſigned for indulging a liberty in this particular.[l] The ideas of penance alſo were ſo much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament paſſed, forbidding the uſe of fleſh meat during Lent, and other times of abſtinence.[m]

The principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now aboliſhed, and the reformation, ſuch as it is enjoyed at preſent, was almoſt entirely completed in England. But the doctrine of the real preſence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion ſervice, and by the abolition of many ancient rites, ſtill retained ſome hold on the minds of men; and it was the laſt doctrine of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people.[n] The great attachment of the late king to that tenet might in part be the ground of this obſtinacy; but the chief cauſe was really the extreme abſurdity of the principle itſelf, and the profound veneration which of courſe it impreſſed on the imagination. The prieſts likewiſe were much inclined to favour an opinion which attributed to them ſo miraculous a power; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce ſo extraordinary, and, as they imagined, ſo ſalutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was ſo violent, that the Lutherans, notwithſtanding their ſeparation from Rome, had thought proper, under another name, ſtill to retain it; and the catholic preachers in England, when reſtrained in all other particulars, could not forbear on every occaſion inculcating that tenet. Bon-

ner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his ſee, and had been committed to cuſtody. Gardiner alſo, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority which eſtabliſhed the late innovations; and he ſeemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favoured by all the Engliſh catholics, that the king was indeed ſupreme head of the church, but not the council during a minority. Having declined to give full ſatisfaction on this head, he was ſent to the tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's diſpleaſure.

Theſe ſeverities, being exerciſed on men poſſeſſed of office and authority, ſeemed in that age a neceſſary policy, in order to enforce a uniformity in public worſhip and diſcipline: but there were other inſtances of perſecution, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians; a malady which ſeems almoſt incurable. Though the proteſtant divines had ventured to renounce opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new ſyſtem as ſo certain, that they would ſuffer no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the ſame flames, from which they themſelves had ſo narrowly eſcaped, every one that had the aſſurance to differ from them. A commiſſion, by act of council, was granted to the primate and ſome others, to examine and ſearch after all anabaptiſts, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer.° The commiſſioners were enjoined to reclaim them if poſſible, to impoſe penance on them, and to give them abſolution; or, if theſe criminals were obſtinate, to excommunicate and impriſon them, and to deliver them over to the ſecular arm: and in the execution of this charge they were not bound to obſerve the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were diſpenſed with; and, if any ſtatutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commiſſion, they were overruled and abrogated by the council. Some



CRANMER URGING EDWARD VI TO CONSENT
TO THE EXECUTION OF JOAN OF KENT.

tradeſmen in London were brought before theſe commiſſioners, and were accuſed of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not ſin, and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were diſmiſſed. But there was a woman accuſed of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was ſo pertinacious that the commiſſioners could make no impreſſion upon her. Her doctrine was, 'that Chriſt was not truly incarnate of the virgin, whoſe fleſh, being the outward man, was ſinfully begotten, and born in ſin; and conſequently he could take none of it: but the Word, by the conſent of the inward man of the virgin,[p] was made fleſh.' This opinion, it would ſeem, is not orthodox; and there was a neceſſity for delivering the woman to the flames for maintaining it. But the young king, though in ſuch tender years, had more ſenſe than all his counſellors and preceptors; and he long refuſed to ſign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to perſuade him to compliance; and he ſaid that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity and thoſe which were in direct contradiction to the apoſtles' creed: theſe latter were impieties againſt God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repreſs; in like manner as inferior magiſtrates were bound to puniſh offences againſt the king's perſon. Edward, overcome by importunity, at laſt ſubmitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer that, if any wrong were done, the guilt ſhould lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obſtinate againſt all his arguments, at laſt committed her to the flames. Some time after a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accuſed of the hereſy which has received the name of Arianiſm, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment. He ſuffered with ſo much ſatisfaction that he hugged and careſſed

the faggots that were conſuming him; a ſpecies of frenzy, of which there is more than one inſtance among the martyrs of that age.[q]

Theſe rigorous methods of proceeding ſoon brought the whole nation to a conformity, ſeeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the maſs, and refuſed to admit the eſtabliſhed modes of worſhip. When preſſed and menaced on this head, ſhe applied to the emperor; who, uſing his intereſt with ſir Philip Hobby, the Engliſh ambaſſador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council.[r]

CHAPTER XXXV.

EDWARD VI.

DISCONTENTS OF THE PEOPLE....INSURRECTIONS....CONDUCT OF THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND....WITH FRANCE....FACTIONS IN THE COUNCIL....CONSPIRACY AGAINST SOMERSET....SOMERSET RESIGNS THE PROTECTORSHIP....A PARLIAMENT....PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND....PERSECUTION OF GARDINER....WARWICK CREATED DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND....HIS AMBITION ....TRIAL OF SOMERSET....HIS EXECUTION....A PARLIAMENT.... A NEW PARLIAMENT....SUCCESSION CHANGED....THE KING'S SICKNESS....AND DEATH.

DISCONTENTS OF THE PEOPLE. 1549.

THERE is no abuſe ſo great, in civil ſociety, as not to be attended with a variety of beneficial conſequences; and in the beginnings of reformation the loſs of theſe advantages is always felt very ſenſibly, while the benefit reſulting from the change is the ſlow effect of time, and is ſeldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any inſtitution can be imagined leſs favourable in the main to the intereſts of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which, having ceaſed by the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, were much regretted

by the people of England. The monks, always reſiding in their convents in the centre of their eſtates, ſpent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a ſure reſource to the poor and indigent; and, though their hoſpitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleneſs, and prevented the increaſe of public riches, yet did it provide to many a relief from the extreme preſſures of want and neceſſity. It is alſo obſervable that, as the friars were limited by the rules of their inſtitution to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they ſtill are in Roman catholic countries, the beſt and moſt indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to give leaſes at an under value, and to receive in return a large preſent from the tenant; in the ſame manner as is ſtill practiſed by the biſhops and colleges. But, when the abbey lands were diſtributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: the rents of farms were raiſed, while the tenants found not the ſame facility in diſpoſing of the produce; the money was often ſpent in the capital; and the farmers living at a diſtance were expoſed to oppreſſion from their new maſters, or to the ſtill greater rapacity of the ſtewards.

Theſe grievances of the common people were at that time heightened by other cauſes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England theſe arts had made greater progreſs than the knowledge of agriculture; a profeſſion which, of all mechanical employments, requires the moſt reflection and experience. A great demand aroſe for wool both abroad and at home; paſturage was found more profitable than unſkilful tillage; whole eſtates were laid waſte by encloſures; the tenants, regarded as

a uſeleſs burden, were expelled their habitations; even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to miſery; and a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom.' This grievance was now of an old date; and ſir Thomas More, alluding to it, obſerves, in his Utopia, that a ſheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

The general increaſe alſo of gold and ſilver in Europe, after the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, had a tendency to inflame theſe complaints. The growing demand, in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could eaſily be tranſported thither; but in England the labour of men, who could not ſo eaſily change their habitation, ſtill remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a ſubſiſtence by their induſtry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance; and, though this increaſe of induſtry was at laſt the effect of the preſent ſituation, and an effect beneficial to ſociety, yet was it difficult for the people to ſhake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but neceſſity could compel them to ſuch an exertion of their faculties.

It muſt alſo be remarked that the profuſion of Henry VIII had reduced him, notwithſtanding his rapacity, to ſuch difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a preſent neceſſity by the pernicious expedient of debaſing the coin; and the wars, in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry ſtill farther the ſame abuſe. The uſual conſequences enſued: the good ſpecie was hoarded or exported; baſe metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not

purchaſe commodities at the uſual rates; an univerſal diffidence and ſtagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

INSURRECTIONS.

THE protector, who loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged theſe complaints by his endeavours to redreſs them. He appointed a commiſſion for making inquiry concerning encloſures; and iſſued a proclamation, ordering all late encloſures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with ſuch countenance from government, began to riſe in ſeveral places, and to commit diſorders; but were quieted by remonſtrances and perſuaſion. In order to give them greater ſatisfaction, Somerſet appointed new commiſſioners, whom he ſent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all cauſes about encloſures, highways, and cottages. As this commiſſion was diſagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they ſtigmatiſed it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redreſs, could no longer contain their fury, but ſought for a remedy by force of arms. The riſing began at once in ſeveral parts of England, as if an univerſal conſpiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltſhire were diſperſed by ſir William Herbert; thoſe in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Gloceſter, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field; others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampſhire, Suſſex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the diſorders in Devonſhire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous conſequences.

The commonalty in Devonſhire begun with the uſual complaints againſt encloſures and againſt oppreſſions from the gen-

try; but the parish priest of Sampford-Courtenay had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject in the present emergency made the insurrection immediately appear formidable. In other counties the gentry had kept closely united with government, but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphry Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of ten thousand. Lord Russel had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but, finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to negociate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed. The council, to whom Russel transmitted these demands, sent a haughty answer; commanded the rebels to disperse, and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched to Exeter, carrying before them crosses, banners, holy water, candlesticks, and other implements of ancient superstition; together with the host, which they covered with a canopy. The citizens of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining; but were repulsed in every attempt. Russel, meanwhile, lay at Honiton till reinforced by sir William Herbert and lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian harquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit, and took

many priſoners. Arundel and the other leaders were ſent to London, tried and executed; many of the inferior ſort were put to death by martial law;[y] the vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own ſteeple, arrayed in his popiſh weeds, with his beads at his girdle.[z]

The inſurrection in Norfolk roſe to a ſtill greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. The populace were at firſt excited, as in other places, by complaints againſt encloſures; but, finding their numbers amount to twenty thouſand, they grew inſolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretenſions. They required the ſuppreſſion of the gentry, the placing of new counſellors about the king, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had aſſumed the government over them, and he exerciſed his authority with the utmoſt arrogance and outrage. Having taken poſſeſſion of Mouſhold-hill, near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and, ſummoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave ſuch decrees as might be expected from his character and ſituation. The marquis of Northampton was firſt ordered againſt him; but met with a repulſe in an action where lord Sheffield was killed.[a] The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in perſon againſt the rebels: he therefore ſent the earl of Warwick at the head of ſix thouſand men, levied for the wars againſt Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increaſing his reputation and character. Warwick, having tried ſome ſkirmiſhes with the rebels, at laſt made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thouſand fell in the action and purſuit; Ket was hanged at Norwich caſtle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the inſurrection was entirely ſuppreſſed. Some rebels in Yorkſhire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of

pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was ſoon after publiſhed by the protector.[b]

CONDUCT OF THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

But, though the inſurrections were thus quickly ſubdued in England, and no traces of them ſeemed to remain, they were attended with bad conſequences to the foreign intereſts of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwick, which might have made a great impreſſion on Scotland, were diverted from that enterpriſe; and the French general had leiſure to reduce that country to ſome ſettlement and compoſure. He took the fortreſs of Broughty, and put the garriſon to the ſword. He ſtraitened the Engliſh at Haddington; and, though lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garriſon, it was found at laſt very chargeable, and even impracticable, to keep poſſeſſion of that fortreſs. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waſte by the inroads both of the Scots and Engliſh, and could afford no ſupply to the garriſon: the place lay above thirty miles from the borders, ſo that a regular army was neceſſary to eſcort any proviſions thither; and, as the plague had broken out among the troops, they periſhed daily, and were reduced to a ſtate of great weakneſs. For theſe reaſons orders were given to diſmantle Haddington, and to convey the artillery and garriſon to Berwick; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the eaſt marches, executed the orders.

CONDUCT OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE.

The king of France alſo took advantage of the diſtractions among the Engliſh, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne, and that territory which Henry VIII had conquered from France.

On other pretences he aſſembled an army; and, falling ſuddenly upon the Boulonnois, took the caſtles of Sellaque, Blackneſs, and Ambleteuſe, though well ſupplied with garriſons, ammunition, and proviſions.[c] He endeavoured to ſurpriſe Boulenberg, and was repulſed; but the garriſon, not thinking the place tenable after the loſs of the other fortreſſes, deſtroyed the works and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a peſtilential diſtemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of ſucceſs againſt Boulogne itſelf, and he retired to Paris.[d] He left the command of the army to Gaſpar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, ſo famous afterwards by the name of admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the ſiege early in the ſpring. The active diſpoſition of this general engaged him to make, during the winter, ſeveral attempts againſt the place; but they all proved unſucceſsful.

Strozzi, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a deſcent on Jerſey; but, meeting there with an Engliſh fleet, he commenced an action which ſeems not to have been deciſive, ſince the hiſtorians of the two nations differ in their account of the event.[e]

As ſoon as the French war broke out the protector endeavoured to fortify himſelf with the alliance of the emperor; and he ſent over ſecretary Paget to Bruſſels, where Charles then kept court, in order to aſſiſt ſir Philip Hobby, the reſident ambaſſador, in this negociation. But that prince had formed a deſign of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion for the catholic religion; and, though extremely deſirous of accepting the Engliſh alliance againſt France, his capital enemy, he thought it unſuitable to his other pretenſions to enter into ſtrict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connexions with the church of Rome; he therefore declined the advances

of friendſhip from England, and eluded the applications of the ambaſſadors. An exact account is preſerved of this negociation in a letter of Hobby's; and it is remarkable that the emperor, in a converſation with the Engliſh miniſters, aſſerted that the prerogatives of a king of England were more extenſive than thoſe of a king of France. Burnet, who preſerves this letter, ſubjoins, as a parallel inſtance, that one objection which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward was, that all their privileges would be ſwallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England.

Somerſet, deſpairing of aſſiſtance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and, beſides that he was not in a condition to maintain ſuch ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hoſtility. The Scots had ſent away their queen, and could not, if ever ſo much inclined, complete the marriage contracted with Edward; and, as Henry VIII had ſtipulated to reſtore Boulogne in 1554, it ſeemed a matter of ſmall moment to anticipate a few years the execution of the treaty. But, when he propoſed theſe reaſons to the council, he met with ſtrong oppoſition from his enemies, who, ſeeing him unable to ſupport the war, were determined, for that very reaſon, to oppoſe all propoſals for a pacification. The factions ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an iſſue fatal to the authority of the protector.

FACTIONS IN THE COUNCIL.

After Somerſet obtained the patent, inveſting him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other executors and counſellors; and, being elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought that

every one ought in every thing to yield to his ſentiments. All thoſe who were not entirely devoted to him were ſure to be neglected; whoever oppoſed his will received marks of anger or contempt;[h] and, while he ſhewed a reſolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not in any reſpect proportioned to his ambition. Warwick, more ſubtle and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and, having aſſociated himſelf with Southampton, who had been readmitted into the council, he formed a ſtrong party, who were determined to free themſelves from the ſlavery impoſed on them by the protector.

The malcontent counſellors found the diſpoſition of the nation favourable to their deſigns. The nobility and gentry were in general diſpleaſed with the preference which Somerſet ſeemed to have given to the people; and, as they aſcribed all the inſults to which they had been lately expoſed to his procraſtination, and to the countenance ſhewn to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the ſame diſorders from his preſent affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requeſts in his own houſe for the relief of the people,[i] and he interpoſed with the judges in their behalf; a meaſure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative at that time could with certainty deſerve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a ſtretch of power, ſeemed the more impolitic becauſe it diſguſted the nobles, the ſureſt ſupport of monarchical authority.

But, though Somerſet courted the people, the intereſt which he had formed with them was in no degree anſwerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies, and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aſpect: the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was repreſented in invidious

colours: the great eſtate which he had ſuddenly acquired, at the expenſe of the church and of the crown, rendered him obnoxious; and the palace which he was building in the Strand ſerved, by its magnificence, and ſtill more by other circumſtances which attended it, to expoſe him to the cenſure of the public. The pariſh church of St. Mary, with three biſhops' houſes, was pulled down, in order to furniſh ground and materials for this ſtructure. Not content with that ſacrilege, an attempt was made to demoliſh St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter, and to employ the ſtones to the ſame purpoſe; but the pariſhioners roſe in a tumult, and chaſed away the protector's tradeſmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's church-yard, with a cloiſter and charnel houſe belonging to it; and theſe edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jeruſalem, were made uſe of to raiſe his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones, being carried away, were buried in unconſecrated ground.[k]

CONSPIRACY AGAINST SOMERSET.

All theſe imprudences were remarked by Somerſet's enemies, who reſolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely houſe; and, aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they repreſented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the preſent meaſures, and requiring their aſſiſtance: they ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders without regard to any contrary orders which

they might receive from the duke of Somerſet. They laid the ſame injunctions on the lieutenant of the tower, who expreſſed his reſolution to comply with them. Next day Rich lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir John Gage, ſir Ralph Sadler, and chief juſtice Montague, joined the malcontent counſellors; and every thing bore a bad aſpect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had ſent to treat with the council, rather choſe to remain with them. The common council of the city, being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new meaſures, and their reſolution of ſupporting them.[1]

SOMERSET RESIGNS THE PROTECTORSHIP.

As ſoon as the protector heard of the defection of the counſellors, he removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then reſided, to the caſtle of Windſor; and, arming his friends and ſervants, ſeemed reſolute to defend himſelf againſt all his enemies: but, finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him; that the people did not riſe at his ſummons; that the city and tower had declared againſt him; that even his beſt friends had deſerted him; he loſt all hopes of ſucceſs, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveneſs. No ſooner was this deſpondency known than lord Ruſſel, ſir John Baker, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and three counſellors more, who had hitherto remained neuters, joined the party of Warwick, whom every one now regarded as maſter. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth to the ſame purpoſe; and they made addreſſes to the king, in which, after the humbleſt proteſtations of duty and ſubmiſſion, they informed him that they were the council appointed

by his father for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had choſen the duke of Somerſet protector, under the expreſs condition that he ſhould guide himſelf by their advice and direction; that he had uſurped the whole authority, and had neglected, and even in every thing oppoſed, their counſel; that he had proceeded to that height of preſumption as to levy forces againſt them, and place theſe forces about his majeſty's perſon: they therefore begged that they might be admitted to his royal preſence; that he would be pleaſed to reſtore them to his confidence, and that Somerſet's ſervants might be diſmiſſed. Their requeſt was complied with. Somerſet capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promiſed him. He was, however, ſent to the tower,[m] with ſome of his friends and partiſans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Articles of indictment were exhibited againſt him;[n] of which the chief, at leaſt the beſt founded, is his uſurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole adminiſtration of affairs. The clauſe of his patent, which inveſted him with abſolute power, unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly becauſe, according to the ſentiments of thoſe times, that power was in ſome degree involved in the very idea of regal authority.

The catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and, as they had aſcribed all the late innovations to Somerſet's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who now bore chief ſway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all theſe points of controverſy; and, finding that the principles of the reformation had ſunk deeper into Edward's mind than to be eaſily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations, and not to hazard his new acquired power by any dangerous enterpriſe. He took care very

early to expreſs his intentions of ſupporting the reformation; and he threw ſuch diſcouragements on Southampton, who ſtood at the head of the Romaniſts, and whom he conſidered as a dangerous rival, that that high-ſpirited nobleman retired from the council, and ſoon after died, from vexation and diſappointment. The other counſellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Ruſſel was created earl of Bedford; the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, beſides the office of chamberlain of the houſehold, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torn from the ſee of London.[o] A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which, being founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but compoſed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerſet, and who derived their ſeat from an authority which was now declared uſurped and illegal. But ſuch niceties were, during that age, little underſtood, and ſtill leſs regarded, in England.

A PARLIAMENT.

A SESSION of parliament was held; and, as it was the uſual maxim of that aſſembly to acquieſce in every adminiſtration which was eſtabliſhed, the council dreaded no oppoſition from that quarter, and had more reaſon to look for a corroboration of their authority. Somerſet had been prevailed on to confeſs on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge againſt him; and he imputed theſe miſdemeanors to his own raſhneſs, folly, and indiſcretion, not to any malignity of intention.[p] He even ſubſcribed this confeſſion; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after ſending a committee to examine him,

and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, paſſed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thouſand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treaſurer in his place, and Warwick earl marſhal. The proſecution againſt him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king; he recovered his liberty; and Warwick, thinking that he was now ſufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much leſſened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own ſon, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerſet.[q]

During this ſeſſion a ſevere law was paſſed againſt riots.[r] It was enacted, that if any, to the number of twelve perſons, ſhould meet together for any matter of ſtate, and, being required by a lawful magiſtrate, ſhould not diſperſe, it ſhould be treaſon; and, if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about encloſures, without lawful authority, it ſhould be felony: any attempt to kill a privy counſellor was ſubjected to the ſame penalty. The biſhops had made an application, complaining that they were deprived of all their power by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the preſent ſuſpenſion of the canon law; that they could ſummon no offender before them, puniſh no vice, or exert the diſcipline of the church; from which diminution of their authority, they pretended, immorality had every where received great encouragement and increaſe. The deſign of ſome was to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church: but others thought that ſuch an authority committed to the biſhops would prove more oppreſſive than confeſſion, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the Romiſh ſuperſtition. The parliament, for the preſent, contented themſelves with empowering the king to appoint thirty-two commiſſioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parlia-

ment. Such implicit truſt did they repoſe in the crown, without reflecting that all their liberties and properties might be affected by theſe canons.' The king did not live to affix the royal ſanction to the new canons. Sir John Sharington, whoſe crimes and malverſations had appeared ſo egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reverſal of his attainder.' This man ſought favour with the more zealous reformers; and biſhop Latimer affirmed that, though formerly he had been a moſt notorious knave, he was now ſo penitent that he had become a very honeſt man.

PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND. 1550.

When Warwick and the council of regency began to exerciſe their power, they found themſelves involved in the ſame difficulties that had embarraſſed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be ſupported by an exhauſted exchequer; ſeemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the greateſt and moſt uninterrupted ſucceſs could attain. The project of peace, entertained by Somerſet, had ſerved them as a pretence for clamour againſt his adminiſtration; yet, after ſending ſir Thomas Cheney to the emperor, and making again a fruitleſs effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themſelves obliged to liſten to the advances which Henry made them, by the canal of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, ſir John Maſon, Paget, and Petre, were ſent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negociate. The French king abſolutely refuſed to pay the two millions of crowns which his predeceſſor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England as arrears of penſions; and ſaid that he never would conſent to render himſelf tributary to any prince: but he offered a

ſum for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thouſand crowns were at laſt agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in Auguſt following. Six hoſtages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty. The Engliſh ſtipulated to reſtore Lauder and Douglas, and to demoliſh the fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Eymouth.[u] No ſooner was peace concluded with France than a project was entertained of a cloſe alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a propoſal ſo ſuitable both to his intereſts and his inclinations. An agreement ſome time after was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully ſettled:[x] but this project never took effect.

The intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent perſecutor of the proteſtants, was nowiſe acceptable to that party in England: but in all other reſpects the council was ſteady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws againſt the Romaniſts. Several prelates were ſtill addicted to that communion; and, though they made ſome compliances, in order to ſave their biſhoprics, they retarded, as much as they ſafely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to ſuch incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A reſolution was therefore taken to ſeek pretences for depriving thoſe prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more eaſy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commiſſions, in which it was declared that they held their ſees during the king's pleaſure only. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to ſtrike a terror into the reſt. The method of proceeding againſt him was violent, and had ſcarcely any colour of law or juſtice. Injunctions had been given him to inculcate, in a ſermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and, becauſe he had neglected this topic, he had been

thrown into priſon, and had been there detained during two years, without being accuſed of any crime, except diſobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerſet, ſecretary Petre, and ſome others of the council, were now ſent, in order to try his temper, and endeavoured to find ſome grounds for depriving him. He profeſſed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of ſupporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the diſpoſition which they expected or deſired.[7] A new deputation was therefore ſent, who carried him ſeveral articles to ſubſcribe. He was required to acknowledge his former miſbehaviour, and to confeſs the juſtice of his confinement: he was likewiſe to own that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the book of common prayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete ſovereign in his minority; that the law of the ſix articles was juſtly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, government, or doctrine. The biſhop was willing to ſet his hand to all the articles except the firſt: he maintained his conduct to have been inoffenſive; and declared that he would not own himſelf guilty of faults which he had never committed.[8]

PERSECUTION OF GARDINER.

The council, finding that he had gone ſuch lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and ſending him new articles to ſubſcribe. A liſt was ſelected of ſuch points as they thought would be the hardeſt of digeſtion; and, not content with this rigour, they alſo inſiſted on his ſubmiſſion, and his acknowledgment of paſt

errors. To make this ſubſcription more mortifying, they demanded a promiſe that he would recommend and publiſh all theſe articles from the pulpit: but Gardiner, who ſaw that they intended either to ruin or diſhonour him, or perhaps both, determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliance. He ſtill maintained his innocence; deſired a fair trial; and refuſed to ſubſcribe more articles till he ſhould recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his biſhopric was put under ſequeſtration for three months; and, as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commiſſion was appointed to try, or, more properly ſpeaking, to condemn him. The commiſſioners were, the primate, the biſhops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, ſecretary Petre, ſir James Hales, and ſome other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commiſſion, which was not founded on any ſtatute or precedent; and he appealed from the commiſſioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded; ſentence was pronounced againſt him; he was deprived of his biſhopric, and committed to cloſe cuſtody; his books and papers were ſeized; he was ſecluded from all company; and it was not allowed him either to ſend or receive any letters or meſſages.[a]

Gardiner, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleaſure: but the council, unwilling to make uſe of a conceſſion which had been ſo illegally and arbitrarily extorted, choſe rather to employ ſome forms of juſtice; a reſolution which led them to commit ſtill greater iniquities and ſeverities. But the violence of the reformers did not ſtop here. Day biſhop of Chicheſter, Heathe of Worceſter, and Voiſey of Exeter, were deprived of their biſhopries on pretence of diſobedience. Even Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Saliſbury, and Sampſon of Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet, not being ſuppoſed cordial in their obedience, were

obliged to ſeek protection, by ſacrificing the moſt conſiderable revenues of their ſee to the rapacious courtiers.[b]

Theſe plunderers neglected not even ſmaller profits. An order was iſſued by council for purging the library at Weſtminſter of all miſſals, legends, and other ſuperſtitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to ſir Anthony Aucher.[c] Many of theſe books were plaited with gold and ſilver, and curiouſly emboſſed; and this finery was probably the ſuperſtition that condemned them. Great havoc was likewiſe made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuſcripts were deſtroyed without diſtinction: the volumes of divinity ſuffered for their rich binding: thoſe of literature were condemned as uſeleſs: thoſe of geometry and aſtronomy were ſuppoſed to contain[d] nothing but necromancy. The univerſity had not power to oppoſe theſe barbarous violences: they were in danger of loſing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be ſwallowed up by the earl of Warwick and his aſſociates.

Though every one beſides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and ſhe ſtill continued to adhere to the maſs, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was, during ſome time, connived at; but at laſt her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkley, were thrown into priſon;[e] and remonſtrances were made to the princeſs herſelf on account of her diſobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her ſentiments, and to perſuade her that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They aſked her what warrant there was in ſcripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the uſe of images, or offering up the ſacrament for the dead; and they deſired her to peruſe St. Auſtin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and prove that it was founded merely on falſe miracles[f] and lying ſtories.

The lady Mary remained obſtinate againſt all this advice, and declared herſelf willing to endure death rather than relinquiſh her religion: ſhe only feared, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe was not worthy to ſuffer martyrdom in ſo holy a cauſe; and, as for proteſtant books, ſhe thanked God that, as ſhe never had, ſo ſhe hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, ſhe endeavoured to make an eſcape to her kinſman Charles; but her deſign was diſcovered and prevented.[g] The emperor remonſtrated in her behalf, and even threatened hoſtilities if liberty of conſcience were refuſed her: but, though the council, ſenſible that the kingdom was in no condition to ſupport with honour ſuch a war, was deſirous to comply, they found great difficulty to overcome the ſcruples of the young king. He had been educated in ſuch a violent abhorrence of the maſs and other popiſh rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he ſhould participate, he thought, in the ſin, if he allowed its commiſſion: and, when at laſt the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed ſomewhat over his oppoſition, he burſt into tears, lamenting his ſiſter's obſtinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he muſt ſuffer her to continue in ſuch an abominable mode of worſhip.

The great object, at this time, of antipathy among the proteſtant ſects was popery, or, more properly ſpeaking, the papiſts. Theſe they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and deſtroy its partiſans by fire and ſword: they had not as yet had leiſure to attend to the other minute differences among themſelves, which afterwards became the object of ſuch furious quarrels and animoſities, and threw the whole kingdom into combuſtion. Several Lutheran divines, who had reputation in thoſe days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take ſhelter in England from the perſecutions which the emperor exerciſed in Ger-

many; and they received protection and encouragement. John A-lasco, a Polish nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the catholics, settled, during some time, at Emden in East Friezland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreseeing the persecutions which ensued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as industrious useful people, and desired to invite over others of the same character, not only gave them the church of Augustine friars for the exercise of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendant and four assisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies.[h]

These differences among the protestants were matter of triumph to the catholics; who insisted that, the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they lost all criterion of truth and falsehood in matters of religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every sect of protestants afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of common prayer suffered in England a new revisal; and some rites and ceremonies, which had given offence, were omitted.[i] The speculative doctrines, or the metaphysics of religion, were also reduced to forty-two articles. These were intended to obviate farther divisions and variations; and the compiling of them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was justly regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is asserted in this confession of faith; and care is also taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, how virtuous soever, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one, who presumes to maintain that any pagan can

poſſibly be ſaved, is himſelf expoſed to the penalty of eternal perdition.*

The theological zeal of the council, though ſeemingly fervent, went not ſo far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which ſeem to have ever been uppermoſt in their thoughts: they even found leiſure to attend to the public intereſt; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was at that time very little the object of general ſtudy or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanſe-towns, or Eaſterlings, as they were called; and, in order to encourage theſe merchants to ſettle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III; had obtained a patent; were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from ſeveral heavy duties paid by other aliens. So ignorant were the Engliſh of commerce, that this company, uſually denominated the merchants of the Stil-yard, engroſſed, even down to the reign of Edward, almoſt the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and, as they naturally employed the ſhipping of their own country, the navigation of England was alſo in a very languiſhing condition. It was therefore thought proper by the council to ſeek pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Engliſhmen in the duties which they paid; and, as ſuch patents were, during that age, granted by the abſolute power of the king, men were the leſs ſurpriſed to find them revoked by the ſame authority. Several remonſtrances were made againſt this innovation by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanſe-towns; but the council perſevered in their reſolution, and the good effects of it ſoon became viſible to the nation. The Engliſh merchants, by their very ſituation as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchaſe of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though theſe advantages

had not hitherto been ſufficient to rouſe their induſtry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: but, when aliens' duty was alſo impoſed upon all foreigners indiſcriminately, the Engliſh were tempted to enter into commerce; and a ſpirit of induſtry began to appear in the kingdom.[l]

About the ſame time a treaty was made with Guſtavus Ericſon, king of Sweden; by which it was ſtipulated that, if he ſent bullion into England, he might export Engliſh commodities without paying cuſtom; that he ſhould carry bullion to no other prince; that, if he ſent ozimus, ſteel, copper, &c. he ſhould pay cuſtom for Engliſh commodities as an Engliſhman; and that, if he ſent other merchandiſe, he ſhould have free intercourſe, paying cuſtom as a ſtranger.[m] The bullion ſent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, ſet the mint to work; good ſpecie was coined, and much of the baſe metal formerly iſſued was recalled: a circumſtance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

WARWICK CREATED DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND. 1551.

But all theſe ſchemes for promoting induſtry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domeſtic convulſions, ariſing from the ambition of Warwick. That nobleman, not contented with the ſtation which he had attained, carried farther his pretenſions, and had gained partiſans, who were diſpoſed to ſecond him in every enterpriſe. The laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue; and, as ſir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the ſhare which he had in the Yorkſhire inſurrection during the late reign, the title was at preſent extinct, and the eſtate was veſted in the crown. Warwick now procured to himſelf a grant of thoſe ample poſſeſſions, which lay chiefly in the north, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom; and

he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend Paulet lord St. John, the treaſurer, was created, firſt, earl of Wiltſhire, then marquis of Wincheſter: ſir William Herbert obtained the title of earl of Pembroke.

WARWICK'S AMBITION.

But the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increaſe of poſſeſſions and titles, either to himſelf or his partiſans, as ſteps only to farther acquiſitions. Finding that Somerſet, though degraded from his dignity, and even leſſened in the public opinion by his ſpiritleſs conduct, ſtill enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obſtacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been contracted between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compaſs with more certainty the deſtruction of his rival. He ſecretly gained many of the friends and ſervants of that unhappy nobleman: he ſometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger, ſometimes provoked him by ill uſage. The unguarded Somerſet often broke out into menacing expreſſions againſt Northumberland; at other times he formed raſh projects, which he immediately abandoned: his treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every paſſionate word which dropped from him: they revealed the ſchemes which they themſelves had firſt ſuggeſted:* and Northumberland, thinking that the proper ſeaſon was now come, began to act in an open manner againſt him.

In one night the duke of Somerſet, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's ſervants, ſir Ralph Vane, and ſir Thomas Palmer, were arreſted, and committed to cuſtody. Next day the ducheſs of Somerſet,

with her favourites, Crane and his wife, ſir Miles Partridge, ſir Michael Stanhope, Banniſter, and others, were thrown into priſon. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a ſpy upon Somerſet, accuſed him of having formed a deſign to raiſe an inſurrection in the north, to attack the gens d'armes on a muſter-day, to ſecure the tower, and to raiſe a rebellion in London: but, what was the only probable accuſation, he aſſerted that Somerſet had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's teſtimony with regard to this laſt deſign; and it appears that ſome raſh ſcheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conſpiracy had been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confeſſed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houſe at Greenwich.

TRIAL OF SOMERSET.

SOMERSET was brought to his trial before the marquis of Wincheſter, created high ſteward. Twenty-ſeven peers compoſed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton; whom decency ſhould have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerſet was accuſed of high treaſon on account of the projected inſurrections, and of felony in laying a deſign to murder privy counſellors.

We have a very imperfect account of all ſtate trials during that age, which is a ſenſible defect in our hiſtory: but it appears that ſome more regularity was obſerved in the management of this proſecution than had uſually been employed in like caſes. The witneſſes were at leaſt examined by the privy council; and,

though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the priſoner (circumſtances required by the ſtrict principles of equity), their depoſitions were given in to the jury. The proof ſeems to have been lame with regard to the treaſonable part of the charge; and Somerſet's defence was ſo ſatisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour. The intention alone of aſſaulting the privy counſellors was ſupported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The priſoner himſelf confeſſed that he had expreſſed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any reſolution on that head: and, when he received ſentence, he aſked pardon of thoſe peers for the deſigns which he had hearkened to againſt them. The people, by whom Somerſet was beloved, hearing the firſt part of his ſentence, by which he was acquitted from treaſon, expreſſed their joy by loud acclamations; but their ſatisfaction was ſuddenly damped on finding that he was condemned to death for felony.[o]

EXECUTION OF SOMERSET. 1552.

Care had been taken by Northumberland's emiſſaries to prepoſſeſs the young king againſt his uncle; and, leſt he ſhould relent, no acceſs was given to any of Somerſet's friends; and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued ſeries of occupations and amuſements. At laſt the priſoner was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, amidſt great crowds of ſpectators, who bore him ſuch ſincere kindneſs, that they entertained to the laſt moment the fond hopes of his pardon.[p] Many of them ruſhed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preſerved as a precious relique; and ſome of them ſoon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and diſplayed to him theſe ſymbols of his

crime. Somerſet, indeed, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, ſeems in general to have merited a better fate; and the faults which he committed were owing to weakneſs, not to any bad intention. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and, by his want of penetration and firmneſs, he was ill fitted to extricate himſelf from thoſe cabals and violences to which that age was ſo much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, ſir Michael Stanhope, ſir Miles Partridge, and ſir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerſet's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed: great injuſtice ſeems to have been uſed in their proſecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy, was, on ſome pretence, tried in the ſtar chamber, and condemned in a fine of ſix thouſand pounds, with the loſs of his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to ſhare that honour.[q] Lord Rich, chancellor, was alſo compelled to reſign his office, on the diſcovery of ſome marks of friendſhip which he had ſhewn to Somerſet.

A PARLIAMENT.

THE day after the execution of Somerſet a ſeſſion of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the eſtabliſhment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorized; and penalties were enacted againſt all thoſe who abſented themſelves from public worſhip.[r] To uſe the maſs had already been prohibited under ſevere penalties; ſo that the reformers, it appears, whatever ſcope they had given to their own private judgment in diſputing the tenets of the ancient religion, were reſolved not to allow the ſame privilege to others; and the practice, nay the very doctrine, of toleration was at that time equally unknown to all ſects and parties. To diſſent from the religion

of the magiſtrate was univerſally conceived to be as criminal as to queſtion his title, or rebel againſt his authority.

A law was enacted againſt uſury; that is, againſt taking any intereſt for money.[t] This act was the remains of ancient ſuperſtition; but, being found extremely iniquitous in itſelf, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of intereſt, notwithſtanding the law, was at this time fourteen per cent.[u]

A bill was introduced by the miniſtry into the houſe of lords, renewing thoſe rigorous ſtatutes of treaſon which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and, though the peers, by their high ſtation, ſtood moſt expoſed to theſe tempeſts of ſtate, yet had they ſo little regard to public ſecurity, or even to their own true intereſt, that they paſſed the bill with only one diſſenting voice.[x] But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that paſſed into a law, by which it was enacted, that whoever ſhould call the king, or any of his heirs, named in the ſtatute of the thirty-fifth of the laſt reign, heretic, ſchiſmatic, tyrant, infidel, or uſurper of the crown, ſhould forfeit, for the firſt offence, their goods and chattels, and be impriſoned during pleaſure; for the ſecond, ſhould incur a præmunire; for the third, ſhould be attainted for treaſon. But, if any ſhould unadviſedly utter ſuch a ſlander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was for the firſt offence [x] to be held a traitor. It may be worthy of notice that the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were profeſſedly of different religions; and religions which threw on each other the imputation of hereſy, ſchiſm, idolatry, profaneneſs, blaſphemy, wickedneſs, and all the opprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented. It was almoſt impoſſible, therefore, for the people, if they ſpoke at all on theſe ſubjects, not to fall into the crime ſo ſeverely puniſhed by the ſtatute; and the jealouſy of the commons for liberty, though

it led them to reject the bill of treaſons ſent to them by the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-ſighted.

The commons annexed to this bill a clauſe, which was of more importance than the bill itſelf, that no one ſhould be convicted of any kind of treaſon unleſs the crime were proved by the oaths of two witneſſes, confronted with the priſoner. The lords for ſome time ſcrupled to paſs this clauſe, though conformable to the moſt obvious principles of equity. But the members of that houſe truſted for protection to their preſent perſonal intereſt and power, and neglected the nobleſt and moſt permanent ſecurity, that of laws.

The houſe of peers paſſed a bill, whoſe object was making a proviſion for the poor; but the commons, not chooſing that a money bill ſhould begin in the upper houſe, framed a new act to the ſame purpoſe. By this act the churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions; and, if any refuſed to give, or diſſuaded others from that charity, the biſhop of the dioceſe was empowered to proceed againſt them. Such large diſcretionary powers, intruſted to the prelates, ſeem as proper an object of jealouſy as the authority aſſumed by the peers.[y]

There was another occaſion in which the parliament repoſed an unuſual confidence in the biſhops. They empowered them to proceed againſt ſuch as neglected the Sundays[z] and holidays. But theſe were unguarded conceſſions granted to the church: the general humour of the age rather led men to bereave the eccleſiaſtics of all power, and even to pillage them of their property. Many clergymen about this time were obliged, for a ſubſiſtence, to turn carpenters or taylors, and ſome kept alehouſes.[a] The biſhops themſelves were generally reduced to poverty, and held both their revenues and ſpiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, was one of the moſt eminent prelates of that age, ſtill leſs for the dignity of his ſee than for his own perſonal merit, his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had oppoſed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion; but, as ſoon as they were enacted, he had always ſubmitted, and had conformed to every theological ſyſtem which had been eſtabliſhed. His known probity had made this compliance be aſcribed, not to an intereſted or time-ſerving ſpirit, but to a ſenſe of duty, which led him to think that all private opinion ought to be ſacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any ſevere treatment during the adminiſtration of Somerſet; but, when Northumberland gained the aſcendant, he was thrown into priſon; and, as that rapacious nobleman had formed a deſign of ſeizing the revenues of the ſee of Durham, and of acquiring to himſelf a principality in the northern counties, he was reſolved, in order to effect his purpoſe, to deprive Tonſtal of his biſhopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of miſpriſion of treaſon, was introduced into the houſe of peers againſt the prelate; and it paſſed with the oppoſition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and ſincere friendſhip to the biſhop of Durham. But, when the bill was ſent down to the commons, they required that witneſſes ſhould be examined, that Tonſtal ſhould be allowed to defend himſelf, and that he ſhould be confronted with his accuſers; and, when theſe demands were refuſed, they rejected the bill.

This equity, ſo unuſual in the parliament during that age, was aſcribed by Northumberland and his partiſans, not to any regard for liberty and juſtice, but to the prevalence of Somerſet's faction in a houſe of commons, which, being choſen during the adminiſtration of that nobleman, had been almoſt entirely filled

with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion when they found that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerſet and his accomplices, was alſo rejected by the commons, though it had paſſed the upper houſe. A reſolution was therefore taken to diſſolve the parliament, which had ſitten during this whole reign, and ſoon after to ſummon a new one.

A NEW PARLIAMENT.

NORTHUMBERLAND, in order to enſure to himſelf a houſe of commons entirely obſequious to his will, ventured on an expedient which could not have been practiſed, or even imagined, in an age when there was any idea or comprehenſion of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the ſheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders that they were required to chooſe men of knowledge and experience for their repreſentatives. After this general exhortation, the king continued in theſe words: 'And yet, nevertheleſs, our pleaſure is, that, where our privy council, or any of them, ſhall, in our behalf, recommend within their juriſdiction men of learning and wiſdom; in ſuch caſes their directions ſhall be regarded and followed, as tending to the ſame end which we deſire; that is, to have this aſſembly compoſed of the perſons in our realm the beſt fitted to give advice [b] and good counſel.' Several letters were ſent from the king, recommending members to particular counties; ſir Richard Cotton to Hampſhire; ſir William Fitzwilliams and ſir Henry Nevil to Berkſhire; ſir William Drury and ſir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But, though ſome counties only received this ſpecies of conge d'elire from the king, the recommendations from the privy council and the counſellors, we may fairly preſume, would extend to the greater part, if not to the whole, of the kingdom

It is remarkable that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is uſually weakeſt; that it was patiently ſubmitted to; and that it gave ſo little umbrage, as ſcarcely to be taken notice of by any hiſtorian. The painful and laborious collector above cited, who never omits the moſt trivial matter, is the only perſon that has thought this memorable letter worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity.

The parliament anſwered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonſtal had, in the interval, been deprived of his biſhopric in an arbitrary manner, by the ſentence of lay commiſſioners appointed to try him, the ſee of Durham was, by act of parliament, divided into two biſhoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue aſſigned them. The regalities of the ſee, which included the juriſdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had alſo purpoſed to make rich plunder of the revenue, as was then uſual with the courtiers whenever a biſhopric became vacant.

The commons gave the miniſtry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the moſt ſincere of any, the moſt cordial, and the moſt difficult to be obtained; they granted a ſupply of two ſubſidies and two fifteenths. To render this preſent the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accuſation of Somerſet, 'for involving the king in wars, waſting his treaſure, engaging him in much debt, embaſing the coin, and giving occaſion for a moſt terrible rebellion.'

The debts of the crown were at this time conſiderable. The king had received from France four hundred thouſand crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the ſale of ſome chantry lands; the churches had been ſpoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which, by a decree of council, without any pretence of law or equity, had been converted to the

king's uſe:[d] yet ſuch had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about [e] three hundred thouſand pounds; and great dilapidations were at the ſame time made of the royal demeſnes. The young prince ſhewed, among other virtues, a diſpoſition to frugality, which, had he lived, would ſoon have retrieved theſe loſſes; but, as his health was declining very faſt, the preſent emptineſs of the exchequer was a ſenſible obſtacle to the execution of thoſe projects which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the proſpect of Edward's approaching end.

SUCCESSION CHANGED. 1553.

THAT nobleman repreſented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm ſtate of health made ſuſceptible of any impreſſion, that his two ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament; and, though Henry by his will had reſtored them to a place in the ſucceſſion, the nation would never ſubmit to ſee the throne of England filled by a baſtard: that they were the king's ſiſters by the half-blood only; and, even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and ſucceſſors: that the queen of Scots ſtood excluded by the late king's will; and, being an alien, had loſt by law all right of inheriting; not to mention that, as ſhe was betrothed to the dauphin, ſhe would by her ſucceſſion render England, as ſhe had already done Scotland, a province to France: that the certain conſequence of his ſiſter Mary's ſucceſſion, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the proteſtant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the uſurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: that, fortunately for England, the ſame order of ſucceſſion which juſtice required was alſo the moſt con-

formable to public intereſt; and there was not on any ſide any juſt ground for doubt or deliberation: that, when theſe three princeſſes were excluded by ſuch ſolid reaſons, the ſucceſſion devolved on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, elder daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk: that the next heir of the marchioneſs was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the moſt amiable character, accompliſhed by the beſt education, both in literature and religion, and every way worthy of a crown: and that, even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no juſt reaſon to pretend, the king was poſſeſſed of the ſame power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. Theſe reaſonings made impreſſion on the young prince; and, above all, his zealous attachment to the proteſtant religion made him apprehend the conſequences, if ſo bigotted a catholic as his ſiſter Mary ſhould ſucceed to the throne. And, though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no ſuch objection, means were found to perſuade him that he could not exclude the one ſiſter, on account of illegitimacy, without giving alſo an excluſion to the other.

Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his ſcheme. Two ſons of the duke of Suffolk, by a ſecond venter, having died this ſeaſon of the ſweating ſickneſs, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to beſtow it on the marquis of Dorſet. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he perſuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the ducheſs to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth ſon the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himſelf by farther alliances, he negociated a marriage between the lady Catherine Gray, ſecond daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke. He alſo married his own daughter to lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon

of the earl of Huntingdon.[f] Theſe marriages were ſolemnized with great pomp and feſtivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expreſſing their indignation at ſeeing ſuch public demonſtrations of joy during the languiſhing ſtate of the young prince's health.

THE KING'S SICKNESS.

EDWARD had been ſeized in the foregoing year, firſt with the meaſles, then with the ſmall-pox; but, having perfectly recovered from both theſe diſtempers, the nation entertained hopes that they would only ſerve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progreſs through ſome parts of the kingdom. It was ſuſpected that he had there overheated himſelf in exerciſe: he was ſeized with a cough, which proved obſtinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: ſeveral fatal ſymptoms of a conſumption appeared; and, though it was hoped that, as the ſeaſon advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men ſaw, with great concern, his bloom and vigour inſenſibly decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked that Edward had every moment declined in health from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been put about him in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

The languiſhing ſtate of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all, except his own emiſſaries, from about the king; he himſelf attended him with the greateſt aſſiduity; he pretended the moſt anxious concern for his health and welfare; and, by all theſe artifices, he prevailed on the young prince to give his final conſent to the ſettlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the common pleas, ſir John Baker and ſir Thomas

Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and ſolicitor general, were ſummoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They heſitated to obey, and deſired time to conſider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The ſettlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in conſequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, paſſed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treaſon in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of ſucceſſion. The judges pleaded theſe reaſons before the council. They urged that ſuch a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would ſubject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counſellor who ſigned it, to the pains of treaſon; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving ſanction to the new ſettlement, and freeing its partiſans from danger, was to ſummon a parliament, and to obtain the conſent of that aſſembly. The king ſaid that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purpoſed to have his ſettlement ratified; but, in the mean time, he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges that their refuſal would ſubject all of them to the pains of treaſon. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and ſaid that he would, in his ſhirt, fight any man in ſo juſt a cauſe as that of lady Jane's ſucceſſion. The judges were reduced to great difficulties, between the dangers from the law and thoſe which aroſe from the violence of preſent power and authority.[g]

The arguments were canvaſſed in ſeveral different meetings between the council and the judges; and no ſolution could be found of the difficulties. At laſt Montague propoſed an expe-

dient, which ſatisfied both his brethren and the counſellors. He deſired that a ſpecial commiſſion ſhould be paſſed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new ſettlement of the crown; and that a pardon ſhould immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the biſhop of Ely, chancellor, in order to have the great ſeal affixed to it, this prelate required that all the judges ſhould previouſly ſign it. Goſnald at firſt refuſed; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the conſtancy of ſir James Hales, who, though a zealous proteſtant, preferred juſtice on this occaſion to the prejudices of his party, could not be ſhaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater ſecurity, that all the privy counſellors ſhould ſet their hands to the patent. The intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were ſo prevalent, that the counſellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone heſitated during ſome time, but at laſt yielded to the earneſt and pathetic entreaties of the king.[h] Cecil, at that time ſecretary of ſtate, pretended afterwards that he only ſigned as witneſs to the king's ſubſcription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, were ſet aſide; and the crown was ſettled on the heirs of the ducheſs of Suffolk; for the ducheſs herſelf was content to give place to her daughters.

DEATH OF THE KING.

After this ſettlement was made, with ſo many inauſpicious circumſtances, Edward viſibly declined every day; and ſmall hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worſe, his phyſicians were diſmiſſed, by Northumberland's advice, and by

an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to reſtore him to his former ſtate of health. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms increaſed to the moſt violent degree: he felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid; and many other ſymptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich on the ſixth of July, in the ſixteenth year of his age and the ſeventh of his reign.

All the Engliſh hiſtorians dwell with pleaſure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promiſes of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He poſſeſſed mildneſs of diſpoſition, application to ſtudy and buſineſs, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and juſtice. He ſeems only to have contracted, from his education, and from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepoſſeſſion in matters of religion, which made him incline ſomewhat to bigotry and perſecution: but, as the bigotry of proteſtants, leſs governed by prieſts, lies under more reſtraints than that of catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the leſs to be apprehended, if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.

MARY

CHAP. XXXVI & XXXVII.

LADY JANE GRAY PROCLAIMED QUEEN: DESERTED BY THE PEOPLE: THE QUEEN PROCLAIMED AND ACKNOWLEDGED: CATHOLIC RELIGION RESTORED: QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH PHILIP: WYATT'S INSURRECTION: EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GRAY: PHILIP'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.— REASONS FOR AND AGAINST TOLERATION: PERSECUTIONS: THE QUEEN'S EXTORTIONS: THE EMPEROR RESIGNS HIS CROWN: EXECUTION OF CRANMER: WAR WITH FRANCE: CALAIS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH: DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

MARY. I.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MARY.

1553...1558.

LADY JANE GRAY PROCLAIMED QUEEN....DESERTED BY THE PEOPLE....THE QUEEN PROCLAIMED AND ACKNOWLEDGED....NORTHUMBERLAND EXECUTED....CATHOLIC RELIGION RESTORED.... A PARLIAMENT....QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH PHILIP....WIAT'S INSURRECTION....SUPPRESSED....EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GRAY ....A PARLIAMENT....PHILIP'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

THE title of the princeſs Mary, after the demiſe of her brother, was not expoſed to any conſiderable difficulty; and the objections ſtarted by the lady Jane's partiſans were new and unheard of by the nation. Though all the proteſtants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry VIII with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet, as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recogniſed by the nation, and ſeemingly founded on thoſe principles of law and religion which then prevailed, few imagined that their iſſue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpoſe had indeed been extorted from parliament by the uſual

violence and caprice of Henry; but, as that monarch had afterwards been induced to reſtore his daughter to the right of ſucceſſion, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it was ever eſteemed juſt and natural. The public had long been familiarized to theſe ſentiments: during all the reign of Edward the princeſs was regarded as his lawful ſucceſſor; and, though the proteſtants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred univerſally entertained againſt the Dudleys,[j] who men foreſaw would, under the name of Jane, be the real ſovereigns, was more than ſufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This laſt attempt to violate the order of ſucceſſion had diſplayed Northumberland's ambition and injuſtice in a full light; and, when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity, and cruelty, by which that project had been conducted; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princeſſes, had been ſacrificed to it; they were moved, by indignation, to exert themſelves in oppoſition to ſuch criminal enterpriſes. The general veneration alſo paid to the memory of Henry VIII prompted the nation to defend the rights of his poſterity; and the miſeries of the ancient civil wars were not ſo entirely forgotten, that men were willing, by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the danger of like bloodſhed and confuſion.

Northumberland, ſenſible of the oppoſition which he muſt expect, had carefully concealed the deſtination made by the king; and, in order to bring the two princeſſes into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, deſiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm ſtate of health required the aſſiſtance of their counſel, and the conſolation of their company.[k] Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princeſſes fall into the ſnare, kept

LADY JANE GREY DECLINING THE CROWN.

the king's death ſtill ſecret; and the lady Mary had already reached Hoddeſden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel ſent her private intelligence both of her brother's death[l] and of the conſpiracy formed againſt her. She immediately made haſte to retire; and ſhe arrived, by quick journies, firſt at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk; where ſhe purpoſed to embark and eſcape to Flanders, in caſe ſhe ſhould find it impoſſible to defend her right of ſucceſſion. She wrote letters to the nobility and moſt conſiderable gentry in every county in England, commanding them to aſſiſt her in the defence of her crown and perſon. And ſhe diſpatched a meſſage to the council, by which ſhe notified to them that her brother's death was no longer a ſecret to her, promiſed them pardon for paſt offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London.[m]

LADY JANE GRAY PROCLAIMED QUEEN. 1553.

NORTHUMBERLAND found that farther diſſimulation was fruitleſs: he went to Sion-houſe,[n] accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who reſided there, with all the reſpect uſually paid to the ſovereign. Jane was in a great meaſure ignorant of theſe tranſactions; and it was with equal grief and ſurpriſe that ſhe received intelligence of them.[o] She was a lady of an amiable perſon, an engaging diſpoſition, accompliſhed parts; and, being of an equal age with the late king, ſhe had received all her education with him, and ſeemed even to poſſeſs greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, beſides modern tongues; had paſſed moſt of her time in an application to learning; and expreſſed a great indifference

for other occupations and amuſements uſual with her ſex and ſtation. Roger Aſcham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a viſit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the reſt of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and, on his admiring the ſingularity of her choice, ſhe told him that ſhe received more pleaſure from that author than the others could reap from all their ſport and gaiety.' Her heart, full of this paſſion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderneſs towards her huſband, who was deſerving of her affections, had never opened itſelf to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the intelligence of her elevation to the throne was nowiſe agreeable to her. She even refuſed to accept of the preſent; pleaded the preferable title of the two princeſſes; expreſſed her dread of the conſequences attending an enterpriſe ſo dangerous, not to ſay ſo criminal; and deſired to remain in the private ſtation in which ſhe was born. Overcome at laſt by the entreaties, rather than the reaſons, of her father and father-in-law, and, above all, of her huſband, ſhe ſubmitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquiſh her own judgment. It was then uſual for the kings of England, after their acceſſion, to paſs the firſt days in the tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new ſovereign. All the counſellors were obliged to attend her to that fortreſs; and by this means became in reality priſoners in the hands of Northumberland, whoſe will they were neceſſitated to obey. Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but theſe orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. No applauſe enſued: the people heard the proclamation with ſilence and concern: ſome even expreſſed their ſcorn and contempt; and one Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was ſeverely puniſhed for this offence. The proteſtant teachers themſelves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found

their eloquence fruitleſs; and Ridley, biſhop of London, who preached a ſermon to that purpoſe, wrought no effect upon his audience.

The people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidſt their tenders of duty, expreſſing apprehenſions for their religion; but, when ſhe aſſured them that ſhe never meant to change the laws of Edward, they inliſted themſelves in her cauſe with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Suſſex, the eldeſt ſons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt, ſir William Drury, ſir Henry Benningfield, ſir Henry Jernegan, perſons whoſe intereſt lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers.[q] Sir Edward Haſtings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commiſſion from the council to make levies for the lady Jane in Buckinghamſhire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thouſand men, and joined Mary. Even a fleet, which had been ſent by Northumberland to lie off the coaſt of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a ſtorm, was engaged to declare for that princeſs.

Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, ſaw at laſt the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himſelf. He had levied forces, which were aſſembled at London; but, dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counſellors, whoſe compliance he knew had been entirely the reſult of fear or artifice, he was reſolved to keep near the perſon of the lady Jane, and ſend Suffolk to command the army. But the counſellors who wiſhed to remove him,[r] working on the filial tenderneſs of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be expoſed; and repreſented that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly ſuppreſſing a rebellion in

thoſe parts, was more proper to command in that enterpriſe. The duke himſelf, who knew the ſlender capacity of Suffolk, began to think that none but himſelf was able to encounter the preſent danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counſellors attended on him at his departure with the higheſt proteſtations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy.[t] As he went along he remarked the diſaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal iſſue to his ambitious hopes. 'Many,' ſaid he to lord Gray, 'come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries,' God ſpeed you!'

LADY JANE DESERTED BY THE PEOPLE.

The duke had no ſooner reached St. Edmund's-bury than he found his army, which did not exceed ſix thouſand men, too weak to encounter the queen's,[u] which amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, deſiring them to ſend him a reinforcement; and the counſellors immediately laid hold of the opportunity to free themſelves from confinement. They left the tower, as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but, being aſſembled in Baynard's caſtle, a houſe belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of ſhaking off his uſurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference by repreſenting the injuſtice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterpriſe which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he affirmed that the only method of making atonement for their paſt offences was by a ſpeedy return to the duty which they owed to their lawful ſovereign.[x] This motion was ſeconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his ſword, ſwore he was ready to fight any man that expreſſed himſelf of

a contrary ſentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately ſent for, who diſcovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expreſſed their approbation by ſhouts of applauſe. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the tower, finding reſiſtance fruitleſs, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more ſatisfaction than ſhe felt when the royalty was tendered to her:[y] and the meſſengers who were ſent to Northumberland, with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had deſpaired of ſucceſs, was deſerted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy and ſatisfaction.[z]

THE QUEEN PROCLAIMED AND ACKNOWLEDGED.

The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave ſenſible expreſſions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thouſand horſe, which that princeſs had levied in order to ſupport their joint title againſt the uſurper.[a]

NORTHUMBERLAND EXECUTED.

The queen gave orders for taking into cuſtody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel that arreſted him, and abjectly begged his life.[b] At the ſame time were committed the earl of Warwick, his eldeſt ſon, lord Ambroſe and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger ſons, ſir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, ſir Thomas Palmer, and ſir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray,

and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and, because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk himself recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence in a great measure to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself could sit as his judges? Being told that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons not lying under any sentence of attainder were still innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury,[c] he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution, on the twenty-second of August, he made profession of the catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors; whether that such were his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised from interest and ambition, or that he hoped by this declaration to render the queen more favourable to his family.[d] Sir Thomas Palmer and sir John Gates suffered with him; and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprise against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford, but without any present intention of putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded sufficiently in their favour.

When Mary firſt arrived in the tower the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained priſoner during all the laſt reign; Courtney, ſon of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment ever ſince his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonſtal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the catholic cauſe; appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection. They were all of them reſtored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithſtanding that it had paſſed in parliament, was repreſented as null and invalid; becauſe, among other informalities, no ſpecial matter had been alleged againſt him, except wearing a coat of arms which he and his anceſtors, without giving any offence, had always made uſe of in the face of the court and of the whole nation. Courtney ſoon after received the title of earl of Devonſhire; and, though educated in ſuch cloſe confinement that he was altogether unacquainted with the world, he ſoon acquired all the accompliſhments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a conſiderable figure during the few years which he lived after he recovered his liberty. Beſides performing all thoſe popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herſelf with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with ſome exceptions, and by remitting the ſubſidy voted to her brother by the laſt parliament.[g]

The joy ariſing from the ſucceſſion of the lawful heir, and from the gracious demeanor of the ſovereign, hindered not the people from being agitated with great anxiety concerning the fate of religion; and, as the bulk of the nation inclined to the proteſtant communion, the apprehenſions entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared

to be ſomewhat connected with the papal authority; and that princeſs, being educated with her mother, had imbibed the ſtrongeſt attachment to the catholic communion, and the higheſt averſion to thoſe new tenets whence ſhe believed all the misfortunes of her family had originally ſprung. The diſcouragements which ſhe lay under from her father, though at laſt they brought her to comply with his will, tended ſtill more to increaſe her diſguſt to the reformers; and the vexations, which the protector and the council gave her during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her farther in her prejudices. Naturally of a ſour and obſtinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, ſhe poſſeſſed all the qualities fitted to compoſe a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reaſon to dread not only the abolition, but the perſecution, of the eſtabliſhed religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long ere ſhe diſcovered her intentions.

CATHOLIC RELIGION RESTORED.

GARDINER, Bonner, Tonſtal, Day, Heath, and Veſey, were reinſtated in their ſees, either by a direct act of power, or (what is nearly the ſame) by the ſentence of commiſſioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the biſhopric of Durham had been diſſolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and replaced Tonſtal in his regalities as well as his revenue. On pretence of diſcouraging controverſy, ſhe ſilenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except ſuch as ſhould obtain a particular licenſe; and it was eaſy to foreſee that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate arch-

biſhop of York, Coverdale biſhop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloceſter, were thrown into priſon; whither old Latimer alſo was ſent ſoon after. The zealous biſhops and prieſts were encouraged in their forwardneſs to revive the maſs, though contrary to the preſent laws. Judge Hales, who had diſcovered ſuch conſtancy in defending the queen's title, loſt all his merit by an oppoſition to thoſe illegal practices; and, being committed to cuſtody, was treated with ſuch ſeverity, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himſelf. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, becauſe they preſumed to plead the promiſe which the queen, when they enliſted themſelves in her ſervice, had given them of maintaining the reformed religion; one, in particular, was ſet in the pillory becauſe he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which ſhe had taken on that occaſion. And, though the queen ſtill promiſed, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate thoſe who differed from her, men foreſaw that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble ſecurity when ſet in oppoſition to religious prejudices.

The merits of Cranmer towards the queen during the reign of Henry had been conſiderable; and he had ſucceſsfully employed his good offices in mitigating the ſevere prejudices which that monarch had entertained againſt her. But the active part which he had born in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and, though Gardiner had been equally forward in ſoliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made ſufficient atonement by his ſufferings in defence of the catholic cauſe. The primate, therefore, had reaſon to expect little favour during the preſent reign; but it was by his own indiſcreet zeal that he brought on himſelf the firſt violence and perſecution. A report being ſpread that Cranmer, in order to pay court to

the queen, had promiſed to officiate in the Latin ſervice, the archbiſhop, to wipe off this aſperſion, publiſhed a manifeſto in his own defence. Among other expreſſions, he there ſaid that, as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time ſtirred up his ſervants to perſecute Chriſt and his true religion: that this infernal ſpirit now endeavoured to reſtore the Latin ſatisfactory maſſes, a thing of his own invention and device; and, in order to effect his purpoſe, had falſely made uſe of Cranmer's name and authority: and that the maſs is not only without foundation, either in the ſcriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but likewiſe diſcovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inſpired writings, and is beſides replete with many horrid blaſphemies.[h] On the publication of this inflammatory paper Cranmer was thrown into priſon, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and oppoſing the queen's acceſſion. Sentence of high treaſon was pronounced againſt him; and, though his guilt was ſhared with the whole privy council, and was even leſs than that of the greater part of them, this ſentence, however ſevere, muſt be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reſerved for a more cruel puniſhment.

Peter Martyr, ſeeing a perſecution gathering againſt the reformers, deſired leave to withdraw;[i] and, while ſome zealous catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generouſly furniſhed him with ſupplies for his journey: but, as bigotted zeal ſtill increaſed, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill.[k] The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the ſame time committed to the flames at Cambridge.[l] John a Laſco was firſt ſilenced, then or-

dered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign proteſtants followed him; and the nation thereby loſt many uſeful hands for arts and manufactures. Several Engliſh proteſtants alſo took ſhelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a diſmal aſpect for the reformation.

A PARLIAMENT.

DURING this revolution of the court no protection was expected by proteſtants from the parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. A zealous reformer [m] pretends that great violence and iniquity were uſed in the elections; but, beſides that the authority of this writer is inconſiderable, that practice, as the neceſſities of government ſeldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There ſtill remained ſuch numbers devoted by opinion or affection to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give ſuch candidates the preference in moſt elections; and all thoſe who heſitated to comply with the court religion rather declined taking a ſeat, which, while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection againſt the violence of prerogative. It ſoon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons would be obſequious to Mary's deſigns; and, as the peers were moſtly attached to the court, from intereſt or expectations, little oppoſition was expected from that quarter.

In opening the parliament the court ſhewed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two houſes, a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though aboliſhed [n] by act of parliament. Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, having refuſed to kneel at this ſervice, was ſeverely handled, and was violently thruſt out of the

houſe.[o] The queen, however, ſtill retained the title of ſupreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended that the intention of the court was only to reſtore religion to the ſame condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuſes of popery, which were the moſt grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

The firſt bill paſſed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and aboliſhed every ſpecies of treaſon not contained in the ſtatute of Edward III, and every ſpecies of felony that did not ſubſiſt before the firſt of Henry VIII.[p] The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer,[q] whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority as any ground of the marriage. All the ſtatutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote.[r] The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reverſed; and this act of juſtice was more reaſonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid without farther authority. Many clauſes of the riot act paſſed in the late reign were revived: a ſtep which eluded in a great meaſure the popular ſtatute enacted at the firſt meeting of parliament.

Notwithſtanding the compliance of the two houſes with the queen's inclinations, they had ſtill a reſerve in certain articles; and her choice of a huſband in particular was of ſuch importance to national intereſt, that they were determined not to ſubmit tamely in that reſpect to her will and pleaſure. There were three marriages,[s] concerning which it was ſuppoſed that Mary had deliberated after her acceſſion. The firſt perſon propoſed to her was Courtney earl of Devonſhire, who, being an Engliſhman nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and, as he was of an engaging perſon and

addreſs, he had viſibly gained on the queen's affections,[t] and hints were dropped him of her favourable diſpoſitions towards him.[u] But that nobleman neglected theſe overtures; and ſeemed rather to attach himſelf to the lady Elizabeth, whoſe youth and agreeable converſation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her ſiſter. This choice occaſioned a great coldneſs in Mary towards Devonſhire; and made her break out in a declared animoſity againſt Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had ſunk deep into the malignant heart of the queen; and, after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catherine's marriage, ſhe wanted not a pretence for repreſenting the birth of her ſiſter as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and, as the young princeſs had made ſome difficulty in diſguiſing her ſentiments, violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance.[x] But, when the queen found that Elizabeth had obſtructed her views in a point which perhaps touched her ſtill more nearly, her reſentment, excited by pride, no longer knew any bounds; and the princeſs was viſibly expoſed to the greateſt danger.[y]

Cardinal Pole, who had never taken prieſts' orders, was another party propoſed to the queen; and there appeared many reaſons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the higheſt dignity on the death of Paul III;[z] the queen's affection for the counteſs of Saliſbury, his mother, who had once been her governeſs; the violent animoſity to which he had been expoſed on account of his attachment to the Romiſh communion; all theſe conſiderations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and, having contracted habits of ſtudy and retirement, he was repreſented

to her as unqualified for the buſtle of a court and the hurry of buſineſs.[a] The queen therefore dropped all thoughts of that alliance: but, as ſhe entertained a great regard for Pole's wiſdom and virtue, ſhe ſtill intended to reap the benefit of his counſel in the adminiſtration of her government. She ſecretly entered into a negociation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Bruſſels; ſhe ſent aſſurances to the pope, then Julius III, of her earneſt deſire to reconcile herſelf and her kingdoms to the holy ſee; and ſhe deſired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office.[b]

Theſe two marriages being rejected, the queen caſt her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was deſcended, and which during her own diſtreſſes had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles V, who a few years before was almoſt abſolute maſter of Germany, had exerciſed his power in ſuch an arbitrary manner that he gave extreme diſguſt to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties from the encroachments of that monarch.[c] Religion had ſerved him as a pretence for his uſurpations; and from the ſame principle he met with that oppoſition which overthrew his grandeur and daſhed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Heſſe, who, by his advice and on his aſſurances, had put himſelf into the emperor's hands, ſhould be unjuſtly detained a priſoner, formed a ſecret conſpiracy among the proteſtant princes; and, covering his intentions with the moſt artful diſguiſes, he ſuddenly marched his forces againſt Charles, and narrowly miſſed becoming maſter of his perſon. The proteſtants flew to arms in every quarter; and their inſurrection, aided by an invaſion from France, reduced the emperor to ſuch difficulties that he was obliged to ſubmit to terms of peace, which enſured the independency of Germany. To retrieve his honour he made an attack on France; and, lay-

ing ſiege to Metz with an army of a hundred thouſand men, he conducted the enterpriſe in perſon, and ſeemed determined at all hazards to ſucceed in an undertaking which had fixed the attention of Europe. But the duke of Guiſe, who defended Metz with a garriſon compoſed of the braveſt nobility of France, exerted ſuch vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the ſiege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to perſevere any longer. He retired with the remains of his army into the Low Countries, much dejected with that reverſe of fortune which in his declining years had ſo fatally overtaken him.

No ſooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the acceſſion of his kinſwoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the ſcheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped by this incident to balance all the loſſes which he had ſuſtained in Germany. His ſon Philip was a widower; and, though he was only twenty-ſeven years of age, eleven years younger than the queen, this objection it was thought would be overlooked, and there was no reaſon to deſpair of her ſtill having a numerous iſſue. The emperor, therefore, immediately ſent over an agent to ſignify his intentions to Mary, who, pleaſed with the ſupport of ſo powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herſelf more cloſely with her mother's family, to which ſhe was ever ſtrongly attached, readily embraced the propoſal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match; and Gardiner, who was become prime miniſter, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, ſeconded the project of the Spaniſh alliance. At the ſame time he repreſented, both to her and the emperor, the neceſſity of ſtopping all farther innovations in religion till the completion of the marriage. He obſerved that the parliament, amidſt all their compliances, had diſcovered evident ſymptoms of jealouſy,

and ſeemed at preſent determined to grant no farther conceſſions in favour of the catholic religion: that, though they might make a ſacrifice to their ſovereign of ſome ſpeculative principles which they did not well comprehend, or of ſome rites which ſeemed not of any great moment, they had imbibed ſuch ſtrong prejudices againſt the pretended uſurpations and exactions of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to ſubmit to its authority: that the danger of reſuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepoſſeſſions, which were but too general among the people, againſt the doctrine and worſhip of the catholic church: that much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation againſt the Spaniſh alliance; and, if that point were urged at the ſame time with farther changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and inſurrection: that the marriage, being once completed, would give authority to the queen's meaſures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work in which ſhe was engaged: and that it was even neceſſary previouſly to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the Engliſh, and ſuch as would ſeem to enſure to them their independency, and the entire poſſeſſion of their ancient laws and privileges.[d]

The emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, aſſented to all theſe reaſons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary by repreſenting the neceſſity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more ſincere in his religious opinions, and leſs guided by the maxims of human policy, after having ſent contrary advice to the queen, had ſet out on his journey to England, where he was to exerciſe his legantine commiſſion, he thought proper to ſtop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's conſent for

this detention. The negociation for the marriage meanwhile proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions of eſpouſing Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the conceſſions which they had already made, were alarmed to hear that ſhe was reſolved to contract a foreign alliance; and they ſent a committee to remonſtrate in ſtrong terms againſt that dangerous meaſure. To prevent farther applications of the ſame kind, ſhe thought proper to diſſolve the parliament.

A convocation had been ſummoned at the ſame time with the parliament; and the majority here alſo appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romaniſts to diſpute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and, as tranſubſtantiation was the article which of all others they deemed the cleareſt, and founded on the moſt irreſiſtible arguments, they choſe to try their ſtrength by defending it. The proteſtants puſhed the diſpute as far as the clamour and noiſe of their antagoniſts would permit; and they fondly imagined that they had obtained ſome advantage, when in the courſe of the debate they obliged the catholics to avow that, according to their doctrine, Chriſt had in his laſt ſupper held himſelf in his hand,[e] and had ſwallowed and eaten himſelf. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: the Romaniſts maintained that their champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adverſaries were blind and obſtinate heretics; that nothing but the moſt extreme depravity of heart could induce men to conteſt ſuch ſelf-evident principles; and that the ſevereſt puniſhments were due to their perverſe wickedneſs. So pleaſed were they with their ſuperiority in this favourite point, that they ſoon after renewed the diſpute at Oxford; and, to ſhew that they feared no force of learning or abilities where reaſon was ſo evidently on their ſide, they ſent thither

Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether theſe renowned controverſialiſts could find any appearance of argument to defend their baffled principles.[f] The iſſue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference held at the ſame place during the reign of Edward.

After the parliament and convocation were diſmiſſed, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated in moſt places by the zeal of the catholics, countenanced by government, were ſtill more openly put in execution; the maſs was every where re-eſtabliſhed, and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any ſpiritual office. It has been aſſerted, by ſome writers, that three fourths of the clergy were at this time deprived of their livings; though other hiſtorians, more accurate,[g] have eſtimated the number of ſufferers to be far ſhort of this proportion. A viſitation was appointed, in order to reſtore more perfectly the maſs and the ancient rites. Among other articles, the commiſſioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of ſupremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice.[h] It is to be obſerved that this oath had been eſtabliſhed by the laws of Henry VIII, which were ſtill in force.

QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH PHILIP. 1554.

THIS violent and ſudden change of religion inſpired the proteſtants with great diſcontent; and even affected indifferent ſpectators with concern, by the hardſhips to which ſo many individuals were on that account expoſed. But the Spaniſh match was a point of more general concern, and diffuſed univerſal apprehenſions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as poſſible for the intereſt and ſecurity, and even

grandeur, of England. It was agreed that, though Philip ſhould have the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent of the nobility; that ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled as her jointure; that the male iſſue of this marriage ſhould inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriage, ſhould die, and his line be extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.[i] Such was the treaty of marriage ſigned by count Egmont, and three other ambaſſadors ſent over to England by the emperor.[k]

Theſe articles, when publiſhed, gave no ſatisfaction to the nation: it was univerſally ſaid that the emperor, in order to get poſſeſſion of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and, the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded that he had no ſerious intention of obſerving them: that the uſual fraud and ambition of that monarch might aſſure the nation of ſuch a conduct; and his ſon Philip, while he inherited theſe vices from his father, added to them tyranny, ſullenneſs, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: that England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which uſually exerciſed the moſt violent authority over all her dependant dominions: that the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples, groaned under the burden of Spaniſh tyranny; and throughout all the new conqueſts in America there had been diſplayed ſcenes of unrelenting cruelty, hitherto unknown in the hiſtory of man-

kind: that the inquiſition was a tribunal invented by that tyrannical nation; and would infallibly, with all their other laws and inſtitutions, be introduced into England: and that the divided ſentiments of the people with regard to religion would ſubject multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and would reduce the whole nation to the moſt abject ſervitude.[l]

WIAT'S INSURRECTION.

THESE complaints, being diffuſed every where, prepared the people for a rebellion; and, had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the conſequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. But the king of France, though engaged in hoſtilities with the emperor, refuſed to concur in any propoſal for an inſurrection, leſt he ſhould afford Mary a pretence for declaring war againſt him.[m] And the more prudent part of the nobility thought that, as the evils of the Spaniſh alliance were only dreaded at a diſtance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some perſons, however, more turbulent than the reſt, believed that it would be ſafer to prevent than to redreſs grievances; and they formed a conſpiracy to riſe in arms, and declare againſt the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat purpoſed to raiſe Kent, ſir Peter Carew, Devonſhire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raiſing the midland counties.[n] Carew's impatience or apprehenſions engaged him to break the concert, and to riſe in arms before the day appointed: he was ſoon ſuppreſſed by the earl of Bedford, and conſtrained to fly into France. On this intelligence Suffolk, dreading an arreſt, ſuddenly left the town, with his brothers lord Thomas and lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raiſe the people in the counties of Warwick

and Leiceſter, where his intereſt lay; but he was ſo cloſely purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of three hundred horſe, that he was obliged to diſperſe his followers, and, being diſcovered in his concealment, he was carried priſoner to London.[o] Wiat was at firſt more ſucceſsful in his attempt; and, having publiſhed a declaration at Maidſtone in Kent againſt the queen's evil counſellors, and againſt the Spaniſh match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his ſtandard. The duke of Norfolk, with ſir Henry Jernegan, was ſent againſt him, at the head of the guards and ſome other troops, reinforced with five hundred Londoners commanded by Bret: and he came within ſight of the rebels at Rocheſter, where they had fixed their head quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to deſert from them; but, having ſecretly gained Bret, theſe two malcontents ſo wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deſerted to Wiat, and declared that they would not contribute to enſlave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took ſhelter in the city.[p]

INSURRECTIONS SUPPRESSED.

After this proof of the diſpoſitions of the people, eſpecially of the Londoners, who were moſtly proteſtants, Wiat was encouraged to proceed: he led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the queen that ſhe ſhould put the tower into his hands, ſhould deliver four counſellors as hoſtages, and, in order to enſure the liberty of the nation, ſhould immediately marry an Engliſhman. Finding that the bridge was ſecured againſt him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingſton, where he paſſed the river with four thouſand men; and, returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partiſans, who

had engaged to declare for him. He had imprudently waſted ſo much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingſton, that the critical ſeaſon, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely loſt: though he entered Weſtminſter without reſiſtance, his followers, finding that no perſon of note joined him, inſenſibly fell off, and he was at laſt ſeized near Temple-bar by ſir Maurice Berkeley.[q] Four hundred perſons are ſaid to have ſuffered for this rebellion:[r] four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and, falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were diſmiſſed. Wiat was condemned and executed: as it had been reported that, on his examination, he had accuſed the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire as accomplices, he took care on the ſcaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any ſhare in his rebellion.

The lady Elizabeth had been, during ſome time, treated with great harſhneſs by her ſiſter; and many ſtudied inſtances of diſcouragement and diſreſpect had been practiſed againſt her. She was ordered to take place at court after the counteſs of Lenox and the ducheſs of Suffolk, as if ſhe were not legitimate;[s] her friends were diſcountenanced on every occaſion; and, while her virtues, which were now become eminent, drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation,[t] the malevolence of the queen ſtill diſcovered itſelf every day by freſh ſymptoms, and obliged the princeſs to retire into the country. Mary ſeized the opportunity of this rebellion; and, hoping to involve her ſiſter in ſome appearance of guilt, ſent for her under a ſtrong guard, committed her to the tower, and ordered her to be ſtrictly examined by the council. But the public declaration made by Wiat rendered it impracticable to employ againſt her any falſe evidence which might have offered; and the princeſs made ſo good a defence, that the queen

found herſelf under a neceſſity of releaſing her.[a] In order to ſend her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the duke of Savoy; and, when ſhe declined the propoſal, ſhe was committed to cuſtody under a ſtrong guard at Wodeſtoke.[x] The earl of Devonſhire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay caſtle.

But this rebellion proved ſtill more fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her huſband: the duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and, though the rebels and malcontents ſeemed chiefly to reſt their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire, the queen, incapable of generoſity or clemency, determined to remove every perſon from whom the leaſt danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which ſhe had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which ſhe had been expoſed, rendered nowiſe unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the priſoner's ſoul, induced her to ſend divines, who haraſſed her with perpetual diſputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that ſhe would be perſuaded during that time to pay, by a timely converſion, ſome regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had preſence of mind, in thoſe melancholy circumſtances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in uſe, but alſo to write a letter to her ſiſter[y] in the Greek language; in which, beſides ſending her a copy of the ſcriptures in that tongue, ſhe exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like ſteady perſeverance. On the day of her execution her huſband, lord Guilford, deſired permiſſion to ſee her; but ſhe refuſed her conſent, and informed him, by a meſſage, that the tenderneſs of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that conſtancy which their approaching end required of them:

their ſeparation, ſhe ſaid, would be only for a moment; and they would ſoon rejoin each other in a ſcene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, diſappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have acceſs to them, or diſturb their eternal felicity.[z]

EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GRAY.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the ſame ſcaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compaſſion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that ſhe ſhould be beheaded within the verge of the tower. She ſaw her huſband led to execution; and, having given him from the window ſome token of her remembrance, ſhe waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour ſhould bring her to a like fate. She even ſaw his headleſs body carried back in a cart; and found herſelf more confirmed by the reports which ſhe heard of the conſtancy of his end, than ſhaken by ſo tender and melancholy a ſpectacle. Sir John Gage, conſtable of the tower, when he led her to execution, deſired her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: ſhe gave him her table book, on which ſhe had juſt written three ſentences on ſeeing her huſband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in Engliſh.[a] The purport of them was, that human juſtice was againſt his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his ſoul; that, if her fault deſerved puniſhment, her youth at leaſt, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuſe; and that God and poſterity, ſhe truſted, would ſhew her favour. On the ſcaffold ſhe made a ſpeech to the by-ſtanders; in which the mildneſs of her diſpoſition led her to take the blame wholly on herſelf, without ut-

tering one complaint againſt the ſeverity with which ſhe had been treated. She ſaid that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with ſufficient conſtancy: that ſhe had leſs erred through ambition than through reverence to her parents, whom ſhe had been taught to reſpect and obey: that ſhe willingly received death, as the only ſatisfaction which ſhe could now make to the injured ſtate; and, though her infringement of the laws had been conſtrained, ſhe would ſhew, by her voluntary ſubmiſſion to their ſentence, that ſhe was deſirous to atone for that diſobedience into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: that ſhe had juſtly deſerved this puniſhment for being made the inſtrument, though the unwilling inſtrument, of the ambition of others: and that the ſtory of her life, ſhe hoped, might at leaſt be uſeful, by proving that innocence excuſes not great miſdeeds, if they tend anywiſe to the deſtruction of the commonwealth. After uttering theſe words, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women; and with a ſteady ſerene countenance ſubmitted herſelf to the executioner.[b]

The duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed, ſoon after; and would have met with more compaſſion, had not his temerity been the cauſe of his daughter's untimely end. Lord Thomas Gray loſt his life for the ſame crime. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but, there appearing no ſatisfactory evidence againſt him, he was able, by making an admirable defence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his favour. The queen was ſo enraged at the diſappointment, that, inſtead of releaſing him as the law required, ſhe re-committed him to the tower, and kept him in cloſe confinement during ſome time. But her reſentment ſtopped not here: the jury, being ſummoned before the council, were all ſent to priſon, and afterwards fined, ſome of them a thouſand pounds,[c] others two thouſand apiece.

This violence proved fatal to ſeveral; among others, to ſir John Throgmorton, brother to ſir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had formerly been rejected. The queen filled the tower and all the priſons with nobility and gentry, whom their intereſt with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her ſuſpicion. And, finding that ſhe was univerſally hated, ſhe determined to diſable the people from reſiſtance by ordering general muſters, and directing the commiſſioners to ſeize their arms, and lay them up in forts and caſtles.[a]

A PARLIAMENT.

THOUGH the government laboured under ſo general an odium, the queen's authority had received ſuch an increaſe from the ſuppreſſion of Wiat's rebellion, that the miniſtry hoped to find a compliant diſpoſition in the new parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. The emperor alſo, in order to facilitate the ſame end, had borrowed no leſs a ſum than four hundred thouſand crowns, which he had ſent over to England, to be diſtributed in bribes and penſions among the members: a pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any inſtance in England. And, not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen, notwithſtanding her bigotry, reſumed her title of ſupreme head of the church, which ſhe had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the ſeſſion by a ſpeech; in which he aſſerted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of chooſing a huſband for herſelf; obſerved how proper a uſe ſhe had made of that right, by giving the preference to an old ally, deſcended from the houſe of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry VIII's poſterity, of whom there now remained none but

the queen and the lady Elizabeth. He added that, in order to obviate the inconveniences which might ariſe from different pretenders, it was neceſſary to inveſt the queen, by law, with a power of diſpoſing of the crown, and of appointing her ſucceſſor: a power, he ſaid, which was not to be thought unprecedented in England, ſince it had formerly been conferred on Henry VIII.[e]

The parliament was much diſpoſed to gratify the queen in all her deſires; but, when the liberty, independency, and very being, of the nation were in ſuch viſible danger, they could not by any means be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred which ſhe bore to the lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the houſe of Auſtria: they were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to poſtpone all conſiderations of juſtice or national intereſt to the eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion: they remarked that Gardiner had carefully avoided, in his ſpeech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the queen's ſiſter; and they thence concluded that a deſign was formed of excluding her as illegitimate: they expected that Mary, if inveſted with ſuch a power as ſhe required, would make a will in her huſband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province to the Spaniſh monarchy: and they were the more alarmed with theſe projects, as they heard that Philip's deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter was carefully inſiſted on, and that he was publicly repreſented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a diſtance from the precipice which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage,[f] which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined the paſſing of any ſuch law as the chancellor pointed out to them: they would not ſo much as declare it

treaſon to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's huſband while ſhe was alive; and a bill, introduced for that purpoſe, was laid aſide after the firſt reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of poſſeſſing any authority in England, they paſſed a law in which they declared 'that her majeſty, as their only queen, ſhould ſolely, and as a ſole queen, enjoy the crown and ſovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courteſy of the realm, or by any other [g] means.'

A law paſſed in this parliament for re-erecting the biſhopric of Durham, which had been diſſolved by the laſt parliament of Edward.[h] The queen had already, by an exertion of her power, put Tonſtal in poſſeſſion of that ſee: but, though it was uſual at that time for the crown to aſſume authority which might ſeem entirely legiſlative, it was always deemed more ſafe and ſatisfactory to procure the ſanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for ſuppreſſing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the ſix articles, together with thoſe againſt the Lollards, and againſt hereſy and erroneous preaching: but none of theſe laws could paſs the two houſes: a proof that the parliament had reſerves even in their conceſſions with regard to religion, about which they ſeem to have been leſs ſcrupulous. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not ſerve all her purpoſes, finiſhed the ſeſſion by diſſolving them.

Mary's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whoſe arrival ſhe hourly expected. This princeſs, who had lived ſo many years in a very reſerved and private manner, without any proſpect or hopes of a huſband, was ſo ſmitten with affection for her young conſort, whom ſhe had never ſeen, that ſhe waited with the utmoſt impatience for the

completion of the marriage; and every obſtacle was to her a ſource of anxiety and diſcontent.[i] She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and ſhe could not conceal her vexation, that, though ſhe brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with ſuch neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a ſingle letter.[k] Her fondneſs was but the more increaſed by this ſupercilious treatment; and, when ſhe found that her ſubjects had entertained the greateſt averſion for the event to which ſhe directed her fondeſt wiſhes, ſhe made the whole Engliſh nation the object of her reſentment. A ſquadron, under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then reſided; but, the admiral informing her that the diſcontents ran very high among the ſeamen, and that it was not ſafe for Philip to intruſt himſelf in their hands, ſhe gave orders to diſmiſs them.[l] She then dreaded leſt the French fleet, being maſters of the ſea, might intercept her huſband; and every rumour of danger, every blaſt of wind, threw her into panics and convulſions. Her health, and even her underſtanding, were viſibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and ſhe was ſtruck with a new apprehenſion leſt her perſon, impaired by time, and blaſted by ſickneſs, ſhould prove diſagreeable to her future conſort. Her glaſs diſcovered to her how haggard ſhe was become; and, when ſhe remarked the decay of her beauty, ſhe knew not whether ſhe ought more to deſire or apprehend the arrival of Philip.[m]

PHILIP'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

At laſt came the moment ſo impatiently expected; and news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton.[n] A few days after they were married in Weſtminſter; and, having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip diſplayed his

wealth with great oſtentation, ſhe carried him to Windſor, the palace in which they afterwards reſided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the Engliſh nation had entertained againſt him. He was diſtant and reſerved in his addreſs; took no notice of the ſalutes even of the moſt conſiderable noblemen; and ſo intrenched himſelf in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inacceſſible:[o] but this circumſtance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who deſired to have no company but her huſband's, and who was impatient when ſhe met with any interruption to her fondneſs. The ſhorteſt abſence gave her vexation; and, when he ſhewed civilities to any other woman, ſhe could not conceal her jealouſy and reſentment.

Mary ſoon found that Philip's ruling paſſion was ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him, and ſecuring his affections, was to render him maſter of England. The intereſt and liberty of her people were conſiderations of ſmall moment, in compariſon of her obtaining this favourite point. She ſummoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and, that ſhe might acquire the greater authority over them, ſhe imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members.[p] The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spaniſh gold, the powers of prerogative, the diſcouragement of the gentry, particularly of the proteſtants; all theſe cauſes, ſeconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a houſe of commons which was in a great meaſure to her ſatisfaction; and it was thought, from the diſpoſition of the nation, that ſhe might now ſafely omit, on her aſſembling the parliament, the title of ſupreme head of the church, though inſeparably annexed by law to the crown of England.[q] Cardinal Pole had arrived in Flanders, inveſted with legantine powers from the pope: in order to prepare the way

for his arrival in England, the parliament paſſed an act reverſing his attainder, and reſtoring his blood; and the queen, diſpenſing with the old ſtatute of proviſors, granted him permiſſion to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and, after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themſelves and the kingdom to the apoſtolic ſee, from which they had been ſo long and ſo unhappily divided. This meſſage was taken in good part; and both houſes voted an addreſs to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a moſt horrible defection from the true church; profeſſing a ſincere repentance of their paſt tranſgreſſions; declaring their reſolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majeſties that, ſince they were happily uninfected with that criminal ſchiſm, they would intercede with the holy father for the abſolution and forgiveneſs of their penitent ſubjects.[r] The requeſt was eaſily granted. The legate, in the name of his holineſs, gave the parliament and kingdom abſolution, freed them from all cenſures, and received them again into the boſom of the church. The pope, then Julius III, being informed of theſe tranſactions, ſaid that it was an unexampled inſtance of his felicity to receive thanks from the Engliſh for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing.[s]

Notwithſtanding the extreme zeal of thoſe times for and againſt popery, the object always uppermoſt with the nobility and gentry was their money and eſtates; they were not brought to make theſe conceſſions in favour of Rome till they had received repeated aſſurances, from the pope as well as the queen, that the plunder which they had made on the eccleſiaſtics ſhould never be inquired into, and that the abbey and church lands ſhould remain with the preſent poſſeſſors.[t] But, not truſting altogether to theſe promiſes, the parliament took care in the law

itſelf,[u] by which they repealed the former ſtatutes enacted againſt the pope's authority, to inſert a clauſe, in which, beſides beſtowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the ſchiſm, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave ſecurity to the poſſeſſors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. The convocation alſo, in order to remove apprehenſions on that head, were induced to preſent a petition to the ſame purpoſe;[x] and the legate, in his maſter's name, ratified all theſe tranſactions. It now appeared that, notwithſtanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually ſuppreſſed in England, and invincible barriers fixed againſt its re-eſtabliſhment. For, though the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtics was for the preſent reſtored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably loſt, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even theſe arbitrary, powerful, and bigotted princes, while the tranſactions were yet recent, could not regain to the church her poſſeſſions ſo lately raviſhed from her; and no expedients were left to the clergy for enriching themſelves, but thoſe which they had at firſt practiſed, and which had required many ages of ignorance, barbariſm, and ſuperſtition, to produce their effect on mankind.[y]

The parliament, having ſecured their own poſſeſſions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even to the lives of their fellow citizens: they revived the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics,[z] which had been rejected in the former parliament: they alſo enacted ſeveral ſtatutes againſt ſeditious words and rumours; and they made it treaſon to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen.[a] Each parliament hitherto had been induced to go a ſtep farther than their predeceſſors; but none of them had entirely loſt all regard to national intereſts. Their hatred againſt the Spaniards, as well

as their ſuſpicion of Philip's pretenſions, ſtill prevailed; and, though the queen attempted to get her huſband declared preſumptive heir of the crown, and to have the adminiſtration put into his hands, ſhe failed in all her endeavours, and could not ſo much as procure the parliament's conſent [b] to his coronation. All attempts likewiſe to obtain ſubſidies from the commons, in order to ſupport the emperor in his war againſt France, proved fruitleſs: the uſual animoſity and jealouſy of the Engliſh againſt that kingdom ſeemed to have given place for the preſent to like paſſions againſt Spain. Philip, ſenſible of the prepoſſeſſions entertained againſt him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the releaſe of ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction; lord Henry Dudley, ſir George Harper, ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, ſir Edmond Warner, ſir William St. Lo, ſir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the ſuſpicions or reſentment of the court.[c] But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the ſpite and malice of the queen, and reſtoring her to liberty. This meaſure was not the effect of any generoſity in Philip, a ſentiment of which he was wholly deſtitute; but of a refined policy, which made him foreſee that, if that princeſs were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whoſe ſucceſſion would for ever annex England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonſhire alſo reaped ſome benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty: but that nobleman, finding himſelf expoſed to ſuſpicion, begged permiſſion to travel;[d] and he ſoon after died at Padua, from poiſon, as is pretended, given him by the Imperialiſts. He was the eleventh and laſt earl of Devonſhire of that noble family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in Europe.

The queen's extreme deſire of having iſſue had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when

the legate was introduced to her ſhe fancied that ſhe felt the embryo ſtir in her womb.[e] Her flatterers compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptiſt, who leaped in his mother's belly at the ſalutation of the virgin.[f] Diſpatches were immediately ſent to inform foreign courts of this event: orders were iſſued to give public thanks: great rejoicings were made: the family of the young prince was already ſettled;[g] for the catholics held themſelves aſſured that the child was to be a male: and Bonner, biſhop of London, made public prayers be ſaid that Heaven would pleaſe to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation ſtill remained ſomewhat incredulous; and men were perſuaded that the queen laboured under infirmities which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropſy, which the diſordered ſtate of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all poſſible care; and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to ſupport his authority in the kingdom. The parliament paſſed a law which, in caſe of the queen's demiſe, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no farther conceſſions, came unexpectedly to Weſtminſter and diſſolved them.

There happened an incident this ſeſſion which muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. Several members of the lower houſe, diſſatisfied with the meaſures of the parliament, but finding themſelves unable to prevent them, made a ſeceſſion, in order to ſhew their diſapprobation, and refuſed any longer to attend the houſe.[h] For this inſtance of contumacy they were indicted in the king's bench after the diſſolution of parliament; ſix of them ſubmitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines; the reſt traverſed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an iſſue. Judging of the matter by the ſubſequent

claims of the houſe of commons, and, indeed, by the true principles of free government, this attempt of the queen's miniſters muſt be regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at the time, and was never called in queſtion by any houſe of commons which afterwards ſat during this reign. The count of Noailles, the French ambaſſador, ſays that the queen threw ſeveral members into priſon for their freedom of ſpeech.[i]

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MARY.

REASONS FOR AND AGAINST TOLERATION....VIOLENT PERSECUTIONS....A PARLIAMENT....THE QUEEN'S EXTORTIONS....THE EMPEROR RESIGNS HIS CROWN....EXECUTION OF CRANMER....WAR WITH FRANCE....BATTLE OF ST. QUINTIN....CALAIS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH....AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND....MARRIAGE OF THE DAUPHIN AND THE QUEEN OF SCOTS....A PARLIAMENT....DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

THE ſucceſs which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spaniſh match, and in the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient religion, two points to which it was believed they bore an extreme averſion, had ſo raiſed his character for wiſdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer ſuffered any oppoſition or control. Cardinal Pole himſelf, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and though ſuperior in birth and ſtation, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and, while his learning, piety, and humanity, were extremely reſpected, he was repreſented more as a good man than a great miniſter. A very important queſtion was frequently debated before the queen

and council by theſe two eccleſiaſtics; Whether the laws lately revived againſt heretics ſhould be put in execution, or ſhould only be employed to reſtrain by terror the bold attempts of theſe zealots? Pole was very ſincere in his religious principles; and, though his moderation had made him be ſuſpected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheraniſm, he was ſeriouſly perſuaded of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no conſideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with ſuch important intereſts. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion ſubſervient to his ſchemes of ſafety or advancement; and, by his unlimited complaiſance to Henry, he had ſhewn that, had he not been puſhed to extremity under the late minority, he was ſufficiently diſpoſed to make a ſacrifice of his principles to the eſtabliſhed theology. This was the well-known character of theſe two great counſellors; yet ſuch is the prevalence of temper above ſyſtem, that the benevolent diſpoſition of Pole led him to adviſe a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the ſevere manners of Gardiner inclined him to ſupport by perſecution that religion which at the bottom he regarded with great indifference.[k] This circumſtance of public conduct was of the higheſt importance; and, from being the object of deliberation in the council, it ſoon became the ſubject of diſcourſe throughout the nation. We ſhall relate, in a few words, the topics by which each ſide ſupported, or might have ſupported, their ſcheme of policy; and ſhall diſplay the oppoſite reaſons, which have been employed with regard to an argument that ever has been, and ever will be, ſo much canvaſſed.

REASONS FOR AND AGAINST TOLERATION. 1555.

THE practice of perſecution, ſaid the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the ſcandal of all religion; and the theological animoſity,

ſo fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their oppoſite ſects, is a certain proof that they have never reached any ſerious perſuaſion with regard to theſe remote and ſublime ſubjects. Even thoſe, who are the moſt impatient of contradiction in other controverſies, are mild and moderate in compariſon of polemical divines; and, wherever a man's knowledge and experience give him a perfect aſſurance in his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the oppoſition and miſtakes of others. But, while men zealouſly maintain what they neither clearly comprehend nor entirely believe, they are ſhaken in their imagined faith by the oppoſite perſuaſion, or even doubts, of other men; and vent on their antagoniſts that impatience which is the natural reſult of ſo diſagreeable a ſtate of the underſtanding. They then eaſily embrace any pretence for repreſenting opponents as impious and profane; and, if they can alſo find a colour for connecting this violence with the intereſts of civil government, they can no longer be reſtrained from giving uncontrolled ſcope to vengeance and reſentment. But ſurely never enterpriſe was more unfortunate than that of founding perſecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the ſake of peace, to ſettle an entire uniformity of opinion in queſtions which of all others are leaſt ſubjected to the criterion of human reaſon. The univerſal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religious ſubjects can be owing at firſt to the ſtupid ignorance alone and barbariſm of the people, who never indulge themſelves in any ſpeculation or inquiry; and there is no expedient for maintaining that uniformity, ſo fondly ſought after, but by baniſhing for ever all curioſity and all improvement in ſcience and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a ſteady ſeverity, the firſt beginnings of controverſy; but, beſides that this policy expoſes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of ſuperſtition,

and the magiſtrate to the endleſs encroachments of eccleſiaſtics, it alſo renders men ſo delicate that they can never endure to hear of oppoſition; and they will ſome time pay dearly for that falſe tranquillity in which they have been ſo long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life; a people, who never were allowed to imagine that their principles could be conteſted, fly out into the moſt outrageous violence when any event (and ſuch events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives riſe to any difference in tenet or opinion. But, whatever may be ſaid in favour of ſuppreſſing by perſecution the firſt beginnings of hereſy, no ſolid argument can be alleged for extending ſeverity towards multitudes, or endeavouring by capital puniſhments to extirpate an opinion which has diffuſed itſelf among men of every rank and ſtation. Beſides the extreme barbarity of ſuch an attempt, it commonly proves ineffectual to the purpoſe intended; and ſerves only to make men more obſtinate in their perſuaſion, and to increaſe the number of their proſelytes. The melancholy, with which the fear of death, torture, and perſecution, inſpires the ſectaries, is the proper diſpoſition for foſtering religious zeal; the proſpect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal puniſhments; the glory of martyrdom ſtimulates all the more furious zealots, eſpecially the leaders and preachers. Where a violent animoſity is excited by oppreſſion, men naturally paſs from hating the perſons of their tyrants to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines; and the ſpectators, moved with pity towards the ſuppoſed martyrs, are eaſily ſeduced to embrace thoſe principles which can inſpire men with a conſtancy that appears almoſt ſupernatural. Open the door to toleration, mutual hatred relaxes among the ſectaries; their attachment to their particular modes of religion

decays; the common occupations and pleaſures of life ſucceed to the acrimony of diſputation; and the ſame man, who in other circumſtances would have braved flames and tortures, is induced to change his ſect from the ſmalleſt proſpect of favour and advancement, or even from the frivolous hope of becoming more faſhionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowiſe connected with the ancient religion of the ſtate, is imported from foreign countries, and may eaſily at one blow be eradicated, without leaving the ſeeds of future innovation. But, as this exception would imply ſome apology for the ancient pagan perſecutions, or for the extirpation of Chriſtianity in China and Japan, it ought ſurely, on account of this deteſted conſequence, to be rather buried in eternal ſilence and oblivion.

Though theſe arguments appear entirely ſatisfactory, yet ſuch is the ſubtilty of human wit, that Gardiner and the other enemies to toleration were not reduced to ſilence; and they ſtill found topics on which to maintain the controverſy. The doctrine, ſaid they, of liberty of conſcience, is founded on the moſt flagrant impiety, and ſuppoſes ſuch an indifference among all religions, ſuch an obſcurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magiſtrate incapable of diſtinguiſhing with certainty the dictates of Heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will ſurely give a criterion by which they may be aſcertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows theſe principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permiſſion for the vending of poiſon under the ſhape of food to all his ſubjects. Perſecution may, indeed, ſeem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us that the habits of hypocriſy often turn into reality; and the

children, at leaſt, ignorant of the diſſimulation of their parents, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is abſurd, in oppoſition to conſiderations of ſuch unſpeakable importance, to plead the temporal and frivolous intereſts of civil ſociety; and, if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear ſo univerſally certain in favour of toleration as by ſome it is repreſented. Where ſects ariſe, whoſe fundamental principle on all ſides is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate, each other, what choice has the magiſtrate left, but to take part, and by rendering one ſect entirely prevalent, reſtore, at leaſt for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here ſickly, muſt not be treated as if it were in a ſtate of ſound health; and an effectual neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may ſerve only to encourage the hopes of all the ſects, and keep alive their animoſity. The proteſtants, far from tolerating the religion of their anceſtors, regard it as an impious and deteſtable idolatry; and, during the late minority, when they were entirely maſters, they enacted very ſevere though not capital puniſhments againſt all exerciſe of the catholic worſhip, and even againſt ſuch as barely abſtained from their profane rites and ſacraments. Nor are inſtances wanting of their endeavours to ſecure an imagined orthodoxy by the moſt rigorous executions: Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva; Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptiſts to the ſtake; and, if perſecution of any kind be admitted, the moſt bloody and violent will ſurely be allowed the moſt juſtifiable, as the moſt effectual. Impriſonments, fines, confiſcations, whippings, ſerve only to irritate the ſects, without diſabling them from reſiſtance: but the ſtake, the wheel, and the gibbet, muſt ſoon terminate in the extirpation or baniſhment of all the heretics inclined to give diſturbance, and in the entire ſilence and ſubmiſſion of the reſt.

The arguments of Gardiner, being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received; and, though Pole pleaded, as is affirmed,[1] the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law not to exerciſe violence againſt the proteſtants, and deſired her to conſider his own example, who, after endeavouring through his whole life to extirpate hereſy, had in the end reaped nothing but confuſion and diſappointment, the ſcheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to let looſe the laws in their full vigour againſt the reformed religion; and England was ſoon filled with ſcenes of horror which have ever ſince rendered the catholic religion the object of general deteſtation, and which prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion.

VIOLENT PERSECUTIONS.

THE perſecutions began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was firſt to attack men of that character whom he hoped terror would bend to ſubmiſſion, and whoſe example, either of puniſhment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude: but he found a perſeverance and courage in Rogers which it may ſeem ſtrange to find in human nature, and of which all ages and all ſects do nevertheleſs furniſh many examples. Rogers, beſide the care of his own preſervation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance: he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet ſuch was his ſerenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is ſaid, waked him from a ſound ſleep when the hour of his execution approached. He had deſired to ſee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him that he was a prieſt, and could

not poſſibly have a wife; thus joining inſult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield.[m]

Hooper, biſhop of Gloceſter, had been tried at the ſame time with Rogers; but was ſent to his own dioceſe to be executed. This circumſtance was contrived to ſtrike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a ſource of conſolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving teſtimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was ſtill in his power to merit by a recantation: but he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himſelf for that dreadful puniſhment to which he was ſentenced. He ſuffered it in its full ſeverity: the wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not kindle eaſily; all his lower parts were conſumed before his vitals were attacked; one of his hands dropped off; with the other he continued to beat his breaſt; he was heard to pray and to exhort the people, till his tongue, ſwoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conſtancy.[n]

Sanders was burned at Coventry: a pardon was alſo offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the ſtake, ſaying, 'Welcome the croſs of Chriſt! welcome everlaſting life!' Taylor, parſon of Hadley, was puniſhed by fire in that place, ſurrounded by his ancient friends and pariſhioners. When tied to the ſtake he rehearſed a pſalm in Engliſh: one of his guards ſtruck him in the mouth, and bade him ſpeak Latin; another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which happily put an end to his torments.

There was one Philpot, archdeacon of Wincheſter, inflamed with ſuch zeal for orthodoxy, that, having been engaged in diſ-

pute with an Arian, he ſpit in his adverſary's face, to ſhew the great deteſtation which he had entertained againſt that hereſy. He afterwards wrote a treatiſe to juſtify this unmannerly expreſſion of zeal: he ſaid that he was led to it in order to relieve the ſorrow conceived from ſuch horrid blaſphemy, and to ſignify how unworthy ſuch a miſcreant was of being admitted into the ſociety of any Chriſtian.[o] Philpot was a proteſtant; and, falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himſelf, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and ſuffered at Smithfield. It ſeems to be almoſt a general rule that, in all religions except the true, no man will ſuffer martyrdom who would not alſo inflict it willingly on all that differ from him. The ſame zeal for ſpeculative opinions is the cauſe of both.

The crime for which almoſt all the proteſtants were condemned was, their refuſal to acknowledge the real preſence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would ſtrike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who ſeemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy ſufferers.[p] He ſometimes whipped the priſoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exerciſe: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refuſed to relinquiſh his religion; and, that he might give him a ſpecimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle till the ſinews and veins ſhrunk and burſt.[q]

It is needleſs to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties practiſed in England during the courſe of three years that theſe perſecutions laſted: the ſavage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient conſtancy on the other, are ſo ſimilar in all thoſe martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itſelf, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not,

on any occaſion, ſo deteſtable, and at the ſame time ſo abſurd, as in theſe religious perſecutions, which ſink men below infernal ſpirits in wickedneſs, and below the beaſts in folly. A few inſtances only may be worth preſerving, in order, if poſſible, to warn zealous bigots for ever to avoid ſuch odious and ſuch fruitleſs barbarity.

Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, was burned in his own dioceſe; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to.[r] Ridley, biſhop of London, and Latimer, formerly biſhop of Worceſter, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, periſhed together in the ſame flames at Oxford, and ſupported each other's conſtancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the ſtake, called to his companion, 'Be of good cheer, brother; we ſhall this day kindle ſuch a torch in England, as, I truſt in God, ſhall never be extinguiſhed.' The executioners had been ſo merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be aſcribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about theſe prelates, in order to put a ſpeedy period to their tortures: the exploſion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age; Ridley continued alive during ſome time in the midſt of the flames.[s]

One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been ſeduced by a prieſt into a diſpute, had unwarily denied the real preſence. Senſible of his danger, he immediately abſconded; but Bonner, laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greateſt ſeverities if he did not produce the young man to ſtand his trial. Hunter, hearing of the vexations to which his father was expoſed, voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf to Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the ſtake, agreed with his friends that, if he found the torture tolerable, he would make

RIDLEY
LATIMER
CRANMER
CALVIN
KNOX
BEZA

them a ſignal to that purpoſe in the midſt of the flames. His zeal for the cauſe in which he ſuffered ſo ſupported him that he ſtretched out his arms, the ſignal agreed on; and in that poſture he expired.[t] This example, with many others of like conſtancy, encouraged multitudes not only to ſuffer, but even to court and aſpire to martyrdom.

The tender ſex itſelf, as they have commonly greater propenſity to religion, produced many examples of the moſt inflexible courage in ſupporting the profeſſion of it againſt all the fury of the perſecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumſtances which, even at that time, excited aſtoniſhment by reaſon of their unuſual barbarity. A woman in Guernſey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the ſtake, was thrown into ſuch agitation by the torture that her belly burſt, and ſhe was delivered in the midſt of the flames. One of the guards immediately ſnatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to ſave it: but a magiſtrate who ſtood by ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he ſaid, that nothing ſhould ſurvive which ſprang from ſo obſtinate and heretical a parent.[u]

The perſons condemned to theſe puniſhments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatiſing, contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion: they were ſeized merely on ſuſpicion; and, articles being offered them to ſubſcribe, they were, immediately upon their refuſal, condemned to the flames.[x] Theſe inſtances of barbarity, ſo unuſual in the nation, excited horror; the conſtancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and, as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds which even falſe religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were ſhocked to ſee perſons of probity, of honour, of pious diſpoſitions, expoſed to puniſhments more ſevere than were inflicted on the greateſt ruffians for crimes ſubverſive of civil ſociety. To exterminate

the whole proteſtant party was known to be impoſſible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous than to ſubject to torture the moſt conſcientious and courageous among them, and allow the cowards and hypocrites to eſcape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred ſermons againſt popery; and men either avoided ſuch horrid ſpectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though ſecret, indignation againſt the perſecutors. Repeated orders were ſent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magiſtrates in ſearching out heretics; and in ſome places the gentry were conſtrained to countenance by their preſence thoſe barbarous executions. Theſe acts of violence tended only to render the Spaniſh government daily more odious; and Philip, ſenſible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himſelf by a very groſs artifice: he ordered his confeſſor to deliver in his preſence a ſermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine ſomewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spaniſh friar.[y] But the court, finding that Bonner, however ſhameleſs and ſavage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, ſoon threw off the maſk; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without control. A bold ſtep was even taken towards introducing the inquiſition into England. As the biſhops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be inveſted with ſufficient power, a commiſſion was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate hereſy. Twenty-one perſons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commiſſion runs in theſe terms: 'That, ſince many falſe rumours were publiſhed among the ſubjects, and many heretical opinions were alſo ſpread among them, the commiſſioners were to inquire into thoſe, either by preſentments, by witneſſes, or any other political way they could deviſe, and

to ſearch after all hereſies; the bringers in, the ſellers, the readers, of all heretical books: they were to examine and puniſh all miſbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel; and to try all prieſts that did not preach the ſacrament of the altar; all perſons that did not hear maſs, or come to their pariſh church to ſervice, that would not go in proceſſions, or did not take holy bread or holy water: and, if they found any that did obſtinately perſiſt in ſuch hereſies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be puniſhed according to the ſpiritual laws: giving the commiſſioners full power to proceed as their diſcretions and conſciences ſhould direct them, and to uſe all ſuch means as they would invent for the ſearching of the premiſes; empowering them alſo to call before them ſuch witneſſes as they pleaſed, and to force them to make oath of ſuch things as might diſcover [z] what they ſought after.' Some civil powers were alſo given the commiſſioners to puniſh vagabonds and quarrelſome perſons.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England ſtill nearer to the practice of the inquiſition, letters were written to lord North, and others, enjoining them 'to put to the torture ſuch obſtinate perſons as would not confeſs, and there to order them at their [a] diſcretion.' Secret ſpies alſo and informers were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Inſtructions were given to the juſtices of peace, 'that they ſhould call ſecretly before them one or two honeſt perſons within their limits, or more at their diſcretion, and command them by oath, or otherwiſe, that they ſhall ſecretly learn and ſearch out ſuch perſons as ſhall evil-behave themſelves in church, or idly, or ſhall deſpiſe openly by words, the king's or queen's proceedings, or go about to make any commotion, or tell any ſeditious tales or news. And alſo that the ſame perſons ſo to be appointed ſhall declare to the ſame juſtices of peace the ill behaviour of

lewd diſordered perſons, whether it ſhall be for uſing unlawful games, and ſuch other light behaviour of ſuch ſuſpected perſons: and that the ſame information ſhall be given ſecretly to the juſtices; and the ſame juſtices ſhall call ſuch accuſed perſons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they were accuſed. And that the ſame juſtices ſhall, upon their examination, puniſh the offenders, according as their offences ſhall appear, upon the accuſement and examination, by their diſcretion, either by open puniſhment [b] or by good abearing.' In ſome reſpects this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppreſſion of the inquiſition; by introducing, into every part of government, the ſame iniquities which that tribunal practiſes for the extirpation of hereſy only, and which are in ſome meaſure neceſſary wherever that end is earneſtly purſued.

But the court had deviſed a more expeditious and ſummary method of ſupporting orthodoxy than even the inquiſition itſelf. They iſſued a proclamation againſt books of hereſy, treaſon, and ſedition; and declared, 'that whoſoever had any of theſe books, and did not preſently burn them without reading them, or ſhewing them to any other perſon, ſhould be eſteemed rebels, and without any farther delay be executed [c] by martial law.' From the ſtate of the Engliſh government during that period, it is not ſo much the illegality of theſe proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our cenſure.

We have thrown together almoſt all the proceedings againſt heretics, though carried on during a courſe of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as poſſible, to return to ſuch ſhocking violences and barbarities. It is computed that in that time two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons were brought to the ſtake; beſides thoſe who were puniſhed by impriſonment, fines, and confiſcations. Among thoſe who ſuffered by fire were five

biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This perſevering cruelty appears aſtoniſhing; yet is it much inferior to what has been practiſed in other countries. A great author [d] computes that, in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V was promulgated againſt the reformers, there had been fifty thouſand perſons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had alſo been conſiderable. Yet in both countries, as the ſame author ſubjoins, the progreſs of the new opinions, inſtead of being checked, was rather forwarded by theſe perſecutions.

The burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romiſh communion; and little ſolicitation was requiſite to engage the pope to receive the ſtrayed flock, from which he reaped ſuch conſiderable profit: yet was there a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to Rome, conſiſting of ſir Anthony Brown, created viſcount Montacute, the biſhop of Ely, and ſir Edward Carne; in order to carry the ſubmiſſions of England, and beg to be re-admitted [e] into the boſom of the catholic church. Paul IV, after a ſhort interval, now filled the papal chair; the moſt haughty pontiff that during ſeveral ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended that Mary ſtill retained among her titles that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed that it belonged to him alone, as he ſaw cauſe either to erect new kingdoms or aboliſh the old: but, to avoid all diſpute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and he then admitted the title, as if it had been aſſumed from his conceſſion. This was a uſual artifice of the popes, to give allowance to what they could not prevent,[f] and afterwards pretend that princes, while they exerciſed their own powers, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And, though Paul

had at firſt intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title before he would beſtow it upon her, he found it prudent to proceed in a leſs haughty manner.[g]

Another point in diſcuſſion between the pope and the Engliſh ambaſſadors was not ſo eaſily terminated. Paul inſiſted that the property and poſſeſſions of the church ſhould be reſtored to the uttermoſt farthing: that whatever belonged to God could never by any law be converted to profane uſes, and every perſon who detained ſuch poſſeſſions was in a ſtate of eternal damnation: that he would willingly, in conſideration of the humble ſubmiſſions of the Engliſh, make them a preſent of theſe eccleſiaſtical revenues; but ſuch a conceſſion exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that ſo great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blaſt all their future felicity: that, if they would truly ſhew their filial piety, they muſt reſtore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romiſh church, and Peter's pence among the reſt; nor could they expect that this apoſtle would open to them the gates of paradiſe,[h] while they detained from him his patrimony on earth. Theſe earneſt remonſtrances being tranſmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen; who was determined, in order to eaſe her conſcience, to reſtore all the church lands which were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the crown: and, the more to diſplay her zeal, ſhe erected anew ſome convents and monaſteries, notwithſtanding the low condition of the exchequer.[i] When this meaſure was debated in council ſome members objected that, if ſuch a conſiderable part of the revenue were diſmembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that ſhe preferred the ſalvation of her ſoul to ten ſuch kingdoms[k] as England. Theſe imprudent meaſures would not probably have taken place ſo eaſily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which hap-

pened about this time. The great ſeal was given to Heathe, archbiſhop of York; that an eccleſiaſtic might ſtill be poſſeſſed of that high office, and be better enabled by his authority to forward the perſecutions againſt the reformed.

A PARLIAMENT.

THESE perſecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public diſcontent appeared in the new parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter the twenty-firſt of October.[l] A bill[m] was paſſed, reſtoring to the church the tenths and firſt-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but, though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herſelf, great oppoſition was made to the bill in the houſe of commons. An application being made for a ſubſidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refuſed by the commons; and many members ſaid that, while the crown was thus deſpoiling itſelf of its revenue, it was in vain to beſtow riches upon it. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating ſuch as were remiſs in the proſecution of hereſy from being juſtices of peace. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to diſſolve the parliament.

THE QUEEN'S EXTORTIONS.

THE ſpirit of oppoſition which began to prevail in parliament was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as ſhe was otherwiſe in very bad humour on account of her huſband's abſence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealouſy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the

firſt opportunity to leave her, and had gone over laſt ſummer to the emperor in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of Philip, added to the diſappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and ſhe gave vent to her ſpleen by daily enforcing the perſecutions againſt the proteſtants, and even by expreſſions of rage againſt all her ſubjects; by whom ſhe knew herſelf to be hated, and whoſe oppoſition, in refuſing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cauſe, ſhe believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her ſo little of his company.[n] The leſs return her love met with, the more it increaſed; and ſhe paſſed moſt of her time in ſolitude, where ſhe gave vent to her paſſion, either in tears, or in writing fond epiſtles to Philip, who ſeldom returned her any anſwer, and ſcarcely deigned to pretend any ſentiment of love or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government to which ſhe attended was the extorting of money from her people, in order to ſatisfy his demands; and, as the parliament had granted her but a ſcanty ſupply, ſhe had recourſe to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of ſixty thouſand pounds upon a thouſand perſons, of whoſe compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, ſhe held herſelf beſt aſſured; but, that ſum not ſufficing, ſhe exacted a general loan on every one who poſſeſſed twenty pounds a year. This impoſition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged many of them to retrench their expenſes, and diſmiſs their ſervants, in order to enable them to comply with her demands: and, as theſe ſervants, accuſtomed to idleneſs, and having no means of ſubſiſtence, commonly betook themſelves to theft and robbery, the queen publiſhed a proclamation, by which ſhe obliged their former maſters to take them back to their ſervice. She levied ſixty thouſand marks on ſeven thouſand yeomen who had not contributed to the former loan; and ſhe exacted thirty-ſix thou-

ſand pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage ſome Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, ſhe paſſed an edict, prohibiting for four months the exporting of any Engliſh cloth or kerſey to the Netherlands; an expedient which procured a good market for ſuch as had already ſent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciouſneſs engaged her to give endleſs diſturbance and interruption to commerce. The Engliſh company ſettled in Antwerp having refuſed her a loan of forty thouſand pounds, ſhe diſſembled her reſentment till ſhe found that they had bought and ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching; ſhe then laid an embargo on the ſhips, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the forty thouſand pounds at firſt demanded, to engage for the payment of twenty thouſand pounds more at a limited time, and to ſubmit to an arbitrary impoſition of twenty ſhillings on each piece. Some time after ſhe was informed that the Italian merchants had ſhipped above forty thouſand pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay her a crown apiece, the uſual impoſition: ſhe ſtruck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; and received from the Engliſh merchants, in conſideration of this iniquity, the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds, and an impoſition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they ſhould export. She attempted to borrow great ſums abroad; but her credit was ſo low that, though ſhe offered fourteen per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of thirty thouſand pounds, ſhe could not obtain it till ſhe compelled the city of London to be ſurety for her.° All theſe violent expedients were employed while ſhe herſelf was in profound peace with all the world, and had viſibly no occaſion for money but to ſupply the demands of a huſband who gave attention only to his own convenience, and ſhewed himſelf entirely indifferent about her intereſts.

THE EMPEROR RESIGNS HIS CROWN.

PHILIP was now become maſter of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richeſt and moſt extenſive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary reſignation of the emperor Charles V.; who, though ſtill in the vigour of his age, had taken a diſguſt to the world, and was determined to ſeek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happineſs which he had in vain purſued amidſt the tumults of war and the reſtleſs projects of ambition. He ſummoned the ſtates of the Low Countries; and, ſeating himſelf on the throne for the laſt time, explained to his ſubjects the reaſons of his reſignation, abſolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and, devolving his authority on Philip, told him that his paternal tenderneſs made him weep when he reflected on the burden which he impoſed upon him.[P] He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, the ſtudy of his people's happineſs; and repreſented how much preferable it was to govern by affection rather than by fear the nations ſubjected to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now diſcovered to him the emptineſs of his former purſuits; and he found that the vain ſchemes of extending his empire had been the ſource of endleſs oppoſition and diſappointment, and kept himſelf, his neighbours, and his ſubjects, in perpetual inquietude, and had fruſtrated the ſole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care; an object which meets with leſs oppoſition, and which, if ſteadily purſued, can alone convey a laſting and ſolid ſatisfaction.

A few months after he reſigned to Philip his other dominions; and, embarking on board a fleet, ſailed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Juſt, a monaſtery in Eſtremadura, which, being ſituated in a happy climate, and amidſt the greateſt beau-

ties of nature, he had chofen for the place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos he found, by the thinneſs of his court, and the negligent attendance of the Spaniſh grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and, though this obſervation might convince him ſtill more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily deſpiſe what he had renounced, he ſighed to find that all former adulation and obeiſance had been paid to his fortune, not to his perſon. With better reaſon was he ſtruck with the ingratitude of his ſon Philip, who obliged him to wait a long time for the payment of the ſmall penſion which he had reſerved; and this diſappointment in his domeſtic enjoyments gave him a ſenſible concern. He purſued, however, his reſolution with inflexible conſtancy; and, ſhutting himſelf up in his retreat, he exerted ſuch ſelf-command, that he reſtrained even his curioſity from any inquiry concerning the tranſactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. The fencing againſt the pains and infirmities under which he laboured occupied a great part of his time; and, during the intervals, he employed his leiſure either in examining the controverſies of theology, with which his age had been ſo much agitated, and which he had hitherto conſidered only in a political light, or in imitating the works of renowned artiſts, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is ſaid to have here diſcovered a propenſity to the new doctrines, and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his ſentiments. Having amuſed himſelf with the conſtruction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was in which he had ſo much employed himſelf during his grandeur; and how impoſſible that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the ſame belief and opinion. He ſurvived his retreat two years.

The emperor Charles had very early in the beginning of his reign found the difficulty of governing ſuch diſtant dominions; and he had made his brother Ferdinand be elected king of the Romans; with a view to his inheriting the Imperial dignity, as well as his German dominions: but, having afterwards enlarged his ſchemes, and formed plans of aggrandiſing his family, he regretted that he muſt diſmember ſuch conſiderable ſtates; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the moſt tempting offers and moſt earneſt ſolicitations, to yield up his pretenſions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitleſs, he had reſigned the Imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refuſed the demand; and pretended that, though on the death of an emperor he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet, in the caſe of a reſignation, the right devolved to the holy ſee, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was in every thing conformable to theſe lofty pretenſions. He thundered always, in the ears of all ambaſſadors, that he ſtood in no need of the aſſiſtance of any prince; that he was above all potentates of the earth; that he would not accuſtom monarchs to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him; that it belonged to him to alter and regulate kingdoms; that he was ſucceſſor of thoſe who had depoſed kings and emperors; and that, rather than ſubmit to any thing below his dignity, he would ſet fire to the four corners of the world. He went ſo far as at table, in the preſence of many perſons, and even openly in a public conſiſtory, to ſay that he would not admit any kings for his companions; they were all his ſubjects, and he would hold them under theſe feet. So ſaying, he ſtamped on the ground with his old and infirm limbs; for he was now paſt fourſcore years of age.[9]

The world could not forbear making a compariſon between Charles V; a prince who, though educated amidſt wars and intrigues of ſtate, had prevented the decline of age, and had deſcended from the throne, in order to ſet apart an interval for thought and reflection; and a prieſt who, in the extremity of old age, exulted in his dominion, and, from reſtleſs ambition and revenge, was throwing all nations into combuſtion. Paul had entertained the moſt inveterate animoſity againſt the houſe of Auſtria; and, though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry, by his ſolicitations, to break it, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in recovering Naples, and the dominions to which he laid claim in Italy; a project which had ever proved hurtful to the predeceſſors of that monarch. He himſelf engaged in hoſtilities with the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and, Guiſe being ſent with forces to ſupport him, the renewal of war between the two crowns ſeemed almoſt inevitable. Philip, though leſs warlike than his father, was no leſs ambitious; and he truſted that, by the intrigues of the cabinet, where he believed his caution and ſecreſy and prudence gave him the ſuperiority, he ſhould be able to ſubdue all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion. For this reaſon, as well as from the deſire of ſettling his new empire, he wiſhed to maintain peace with France; but, when he found that, without ſacrificing his honour, it was impoſſible for him to overlook the hoſtile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great induſtry. In order to give himſelf the more advantage, he was deſirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and, though the queen was of herſelf extremely averſe to that meaſure, he hoped that the devoted fondneſs which, notwithſtanding repeated inſtances of his indifference, ſhe ſtill bore to him, would effectually ſecond his applications. Had the matter indeed depended ſolely on her, ſhe was incapable of reſiſting her huſband's commands;

but ſhe had little weight with her council, ſtill leſs with her people; and her government, which was every day becoming more odious, ſeemed unable to maintain itſelf even during the moſt profound tranquillity, much more if a war were kindled with France, and (what ſeemed an inevitable conſequence) with Scotland, ſupported by that powerful kingdom.

EXECUTION OF CRANMER. 1556.

An act of barbarity was this year exerciſed in England, which, added to many other inſtances of the ſame kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained priſoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to puniſhment; and, in order the more fully to ſatiate her vengeance, ſhe reſolved to puniſh him for hereſy, rather than for treaſon. He was cited by the pope to ſtand his trial at Rome; and, though he was known to be kept in cloſe cuſtody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner biſhop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were ſent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which ſuited his ſavage nature.[r] The implacable ſpirit of the queen, not ſatisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which ſhe believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful ſentence to which he was condemned, prompted her alſo to ſeek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Perſons were employed to attack him, not in the way of diſputation, againſt which he was ſufficiently armed; but by flattery, inſinuation, and addreſs; by repreſenting the dignities to which his character ſtill entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying thoſe powerful friends whom his beneficent diſpoſition had attached to him during the courſe of his proſ-

THE MARTYRDOM OF ARCHBP. CRANMER.

perity.[s] Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the proſpect of thoſe tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the ſentiments of nature to prevail over his reſolution, and he agreed to ſubſcribe the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy, and of the real preſence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation ſhould avail him nothing; and they ſent orders that he ſhould be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he ſhould thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a ſecret intimation of their deſign, or had repented of his weakneſs, ſurpriſed the audience by a contrary declaration. He ſaid that he was well appriſed of the obedience which he owed to his ſovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to ſubmit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without reſiſtance, whatever hardſhips they ſhould impoſe upon him: that a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to ſpeak truth on all occaſions, and not to relinquiſh, by a baſe denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: that there was one miſcarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he ſeverely repented; the inſincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakneſs to conſent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a ſincere and open recantation; and was willing to ſeal, with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven: and that, as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed by a ſevere but juſt doom, and ſhould firſt pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the ſtake, amidſt the inſults of the catholics; and, having now ſummoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their ſcorn, as well as the torture of his puniſhment, with ſingular fortitude. He

ſtretched out his hand, and, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the leaſt ſign of weakneſs, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely conſumed. His thoughts ſeemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud ſeveral times, 'This hand has offended.' Satisfied with that atonement, he then diſcovered a ſerenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body he ſeemed to be quite inſenſible of his outward ſufferings, and, by the force of hope and reſolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itſelf, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended that, after his body was conſumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidſt the aſhes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his conſtancy, was fondly believed by the zealous proteſtants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; poſſeſſed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candour, ſincerity, and beneficence, and all thoſe virtues which were fitted to render him uſeful and amiable in ſociety. His moral qualities procured him univerſal reſpect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell ſhort of the rigid inflexibility obſerved in many, made him the hero of the proteſtant party.[t]

After Cranmer's death cardinal Pole, who had now taken prieſt's orders, was inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury; and was thus, by this office, as well as by his commiſſion of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But, though he was averſe to all ſanguinary methods of converting heretics, and deemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable, expedient for that purpoſe,[u] he found his authority too weak to oppoſe the barbarous and bigotted diſpoſition of the queen and of her counſellors. He himſelf, he knew, had been ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm; and, as Paul, the reigning pope, was a furious perſecutor, and his perſonal enemy, he was

prompted, by the modeſty of his diſpoſition, to reſerve his credit for other occaſions, in which he had a greater probability of ſucceſs.[x]

WAR WITH FRANCE. 1557.

THE great object of the queen was to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with many other counſellors, openly and zealouſly oppoſed this meaſure. Beſides inſiſting on the marriage articles, which provided againſt ſuch an attempt, they repreſented the violence of the domeſtic factions in England, and the diſordered ſtate of the finances; and they foreboded that the tendency of all theſe meaſures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependance on Spaniſh counſels. Philip had come to London in order to ſupport his partiſans; and he told the queen that, if he were not gratified in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, he never more would ſet foot in England. This declaration extremely heightened her zeal for promoting his intereſts, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, ſhe threatened to diſmiſs all of them, and to appoint counſellors more obſequious; yet could ſhe not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At length, one Stafford and ſome other conſpirators were detected in a deſign of ſurpriſing Scarborough;[y] and, a confeſſion being extorted from them that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hoſtility, with others of a like ſecret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly declared againſt France, and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom.

The revenue of England at that time little exceeded three hundred thouſand pounds.[z] Any conſiderable ſupplies could

ſcarcely be expected from parliament, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the nation; and, as the war would ſenſibly diminiſh that branch ariſing from the cuſtoms, the finances, it was foreſeen, would fall ſhort even of the ordinary charges of government, and muſt ſtill prove more unequal to the expenſes of war. But, though the queen owed great arrears to all her ſervants, beſides the loans extorted from her ſubjects, theſe conſiderations had no influence with her; and, in order to ſupport her warlike preparations, ſhe continued to levy money in the ſame arbitrary and violent manner which ſhe had formerly practiſed. She obliged the city of London to ſupply her with ſixty thouſand pounds on her huſband's entry; ſhe levied, before the legal time, the ſecond year's ſubſidy voted by parliament; ſhe iſſued anew many privy ſeals, by which ſhe procured loans from her people; and, having equipped a fleet, which ſhe could not victual by reaſon of the dearneſs of proviſions, ſhe ſeized all the corn ſhe could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all theſe expedients, aſſiſted by the power of preſſing, ſhe levied an army of ten thouſand men, which ſhe ſent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any diſturbance at home, many of the moſt conſiderable gentry were thrown into the tower; and, leſt they ſhould be known, the Spaniſh practice was followed; they either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them.[a]

BATTLE OF ST. QUINTIN.

THE king of Spain had aſſembled an army which, after the junction of the Engliſh, amounted to above ſixty thouſand men, conducted by Philibert duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt cap-

tains of the age. The conſtable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppoſe to him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Mariembourgh and Rocroy, ſuddenly ſat down before St. Quintin; and, as the place was weak, and ill provided with a garriſon, he expected in a few days to become maſter of it. But admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour intereſted to ſave ſo important a fortreſs, threw himſelf into St. Quintin, with ſome troops of French and Scottiſh genſdarmerie; and by his exhortations and example animated the ſoldiers to a vigorous defence. He diſpatched a meſſenger to his uncle Montmorency, deſiring a ſupply of men; and the conſtable approached the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entry of theſe ſuccours. But the duke of Savoy, falling on the reinforcement, did ſuch execution upon them, that not above five hundred got into the place. He next made an attack on the French army, and put them to total rout, killing four thouſand men, and diſperſing the remainder. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either ſlain or taken priſoners; among the latter was the old conſtable himſelf, who, fighting valiantly, and reſolute to die rather than ſurvive his defeat, was ſurrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into conſternation; Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry; and, had the Spaniards preſently marched thither, it could not have failed to fall into their hands. But Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined firſt to take St. Quintin, in order to ſecure a communication with his own dominions. A very little time, it was expected, would finiſh this enterpriſe; but the bravery of Coligny ſtill prolonged the ſiege ſeventeen days, which proved the ſafety of France. Some troops were levied and aſſembled. Couriers were ſent to recall the duke of Guiſe and his army from

Italy; and the French, having recovered from their firſt panic, put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Catelet, found the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, that he could attempt no other enterpriſe; he broke up his camp, and retired to winter quarters.

CALAIS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH. 1558.

But the vigilant activity of Guiſe, not ſatisfied with ſecuring the frontiers, prompted him, in the depth of winter, to plan an enterpriſe which France, during her greateſt ſucceſſes, had always regarded as impracticable, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was in that age deemed an impregnable fortreſs; and, as it was known to be the favourite of the Engliſh nation, by whom it could eaſily be ſuccoured, the recovery of that place by France was conſidered as totally deſperate. But Coligny had remarked that, as the town of Calais was ſurrounded with marſhes which during the winter were impaſſable, except over a dyke guarded by two caſtles, St. Agatha and Newnam bridge, the Engliſh were of late accuſtomed, on account of the lowneſs of their finances, to diſmiſs a great part of the garriſon at the end of autumn, and to recall them in the ſpring, at which time alone they judged their attendance neceſſary. On this circumſtance he had founded the deſign of making a ſudden attack on Calais; he had cauſed the place to be ſecretly viewed by ſome engineers; and, a plan of the whole enterpriſe being found among his papers, it ſerved, though he himſelf was made priſoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to ſuggeſt the project of that undertaking, and to direct the meaſures of the duke of Guiſe.

Several bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole, being ſuddenly aſſembled, formed

an army with which Guiſe made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the ſame time a great number of French ſhips, being ordered into the channel, under colour of cruiſing on the Engliſh, compoſed a fleet which made an attack by ſea on the fortifications. The French aſſaulted St. Agatha with three thouſand harquebuſiers; and the garriſon, though they made a vigorous defence, were ſoon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnam bridge. The ſiege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the ſame time the fleet battered the riſbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and both theſe caſtles ſeemed expoſed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but, finding that the greater part of his weak garriſon was encloſed in the caſtle of Newnam bridge and the riſbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which without their aſſiſtance he was utterly unable to defend. The garriſon of Newnam bridge was ſo happy as to effect this purpoſe; but that of the riſbank could not obtain ſuch favourable conditions, and were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The duke of Guiſe, now holding Calais, blockaded by ſea and land, thought himſelf ſecure of ſucceeding in his enterpriſe; but, in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries againſt the caſtle, where he made a large breach; and, having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the foſſee, he commanded an aſſault, which ſucceeded; and the French made a lodgment in the caſtle. On the night following Wentworth attempted to recover this poſt; but, having loſt two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it,[b] he found his garriſon ſo weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guiſnes fell ſoon after; and thus the duke of Guiſe in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himſelf maſter of this ſtrong fortreſs, that had coſt

Edward III a ſiege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Creſſy. The Engliſh had held it above two hundred years; and, as it gave them an eaſy entrance into France, it was regarded as the moſt important poſſeſſion belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by Guiſe, who, at the time when all Europe imagined France to be ſunk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, had, in oppoſition to the Engliſh and their allies the Spaniards, acquired poſſeſſion of a place which no former king of France, even during the diſtractions of the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, had ever ventured to attempt. The Engliſh, on the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortreſs, murmured loudly againſt the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitleſs war for the ſake of foreign intereſts, had thus expoſed the nation to ſo ſevere a diſgrace. A treaſury exhauſted by expenſes, and burdened with debts; a people divided and dejected; a ſovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumſtances which, notwithſtanding the fair offers and promiſes of Philip, gave them ſmall hopes of recovering Calais. And, as the Scots, inſtigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now neceſſitated rather to look to their defence at home than to think of foreign conqueſts.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

After the peace, which, in conſequence of king Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland and England, the queen dowager, on pretence of viſiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France; and ſhe carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Mariſchal, and many of the prin-

cipal nobility. Her ſecret deſign was to take meaſures for engaging the earl of Arran to reſign to her the government of the kingdom; and, as her brothers, the duke of Guiſe, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Aumale, had uncontrolled influence in the court of France, ſhe eaſily perſuaded Henry, and by his authority the Scottiſh nobles, to enter into her meaſures. Having alſo gained Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter biſhop of Roſs, and Gavin Hamilton commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor's, ſhe perſuaded him, by their means, to conſent to this reſignation;[c] and, when every thing was thus prepared for her purpoſe, ſhe took a journey to Scotland, and paſſed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great reſpect and civility; though he could not forbear attempting to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter: a marriage, he ſaid, ſo happily calculated for the tranquillity, intereſt, and ſecurity, of both kingdoms, and the only means of enſuring a durable peace between them. For his part, he added, he never could entertain a cordial amity for any other huſband whom ſhe ſhould chooſe; nor was it eaſy for him to forgive a man who, at the ſame time that he diſappointed ſo natural an alliance, had bereaved him of a bride to whom his affections, from his earlieſt infancy, had been entirely engaged. The queen dowager eluded theſe applications by telling him that, if any meaſures had been taken diſagreeable to him, they were entirely owing to the imprudence of the duke of Somerſet, who, inſtead of employing courteſy, careſſes, and gentle offices, the proper means of gaining a young princeſs, had had recourſe to arms and violence, and had conſtrained the Scottiſh nobility to ſend their ſovereign into France, in order to intereſt that kingdom in protecting their liberty and independence.[d]

When the queen dowager arrived in Scotland ſhe found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and it was

not till after many delays that he could be perſuaded to reſign his authority. But, finding that the majority of the young princeſs was approaching, and that the queen dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to ſubmit; and, having ſtipulated that he ſhould be declared next heir to the crown, and ſhould be freed from giving any account of his paſt adminiſtration, he placed her in poſſeſſion of the power; and ſhe thenceforth aſſumed the name of regent.[e] It was a uſual ſaying of this princeſs, that, provided ſhe could render her friends happy, and could enſure to herſelf a good reputation, ſhe was entirely indifferent what befell her: and, though this ſentiment is greatly cenſured by the zealous reformers,[f] as being founded wholly on ſecular motives, it diſcovers a mind well calculated for the government of kingdoms. D'Oiſel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambaſſador from Henry, but in reality to aſſiſt her with his counſels in ſo delicate an undertaking as the adminiſtration of Scotland; and this man had formed a ſcheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to ſupport a ſtanding military force, which might at once repel the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scottiſh nobles. But, though ſome of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general diſcontent to the nation; and the queen regent, after ingenuouſly confeſſing that it would prove pernicious to the kingdom, had prudence to deſiſt from it, and to truſt entirely for her ſecurity to the good-will and affections of her ſubjects.[g]

This laudable purpoſe ſeemed to be the chief object of her adminiſtration; yet was ſhe ſometimes drawn from it by her connexions with France, and by the influence which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary commenced hoſtilities againſt that kingdom Henry required the queen regent to take

part in the quarrel; and ſhe ſummoned a convention of ſtates at Newbottle, and requeſted them to concur in a declaration of war againſt England. The Scottiſh nobles, who were become as jealous of French as the Engliſh were of Spaniſh influence, refuſed their aſſent; and the queen was obliged to have recourſe to ſtratagem, in order to effect her purpoſe. She ordered d'Oiſel to begin ſome fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been diſmantled by the laſt treaty with Edward; and, when the garriſon of Berwick, as ſhe foreſaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, ſhe effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scottiſh nation, and to engage them in hoſtilities againſt England.[h] The enterpriſes, however, of the Scots proceeded no farther than ſome inroads on the borders: when d'Oiſel, of himſelf, conducted artillery and troops to beſiege the caſtle of Werke, he was recalled, and ſharply rebuked by the council.[i]

MARRIAGE OF THE DAUPHIN AND QUEEN OF SCOTS.

In order to connect Scotland more cloſely with France, and to increaſe the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was ſent by the Scottiſh parliament to aſſiſt at the ceremony, and to ſettle the terms of the contract.

A PARLIAMENT.

The cloſe alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repoſe and ſecurity of Mary; and it was foreſeen that, though the factions and diſorders which might naturally be expected in the Scottiſh government, during the abſence of the ſovereign, would make its power leſs formidable, that king-

dom would at leaſt afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it neceſſary to ſummon a parliament, and to demand of them ſome ſupplies to her exhauſted exchequer. And, as ſuch an emergency uſually gives great advantage to the people, and as the parliaments during this reign had ſhewn that, where the liberty and independency of the kingdom was menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court, we ſhall naturally expect that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money ſhould at leaſt be cenſured, and, perhaps, ſome remedy be for the future provided againſt them. The commons, however, without making any reflections on the paſt, voted, beſides a fifteenth, a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on goods. The clergy granted eight ſhillings in the pound, payable, as was alſo the ſubſidy of the laity, in four years by equal portions.

The parliament alſo paſſed an act, confirming all the ſales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or ſhould be made during the ſeven enſuing years. It was eaſy to foreſee that, in Mary's preſent diſpoſition and ſituation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the royal demeſnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government than to eſtabliſh a prince with very extenſive authority, yet permit him to be reduced to beggary. This act met with oppoſition in the houſe of commons. One Copley expreſſed his fears leſt the queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alter the ſucceſſion, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir: but his words were thought irreverent to her majeſty; he was committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms; and, though he expreſſed ſorrow for his offence, he was not releaſed till the queen was applied to for his pardon.

The Engliſh nation, during this whole reign, were under great apprehenſions with regard not only to the ſucceſſion, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the queen bore to her broke out on every occaſion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princeſs retired into the country; and, knowing that ſhe was ſurrounded with ſpies, ſhe paſſed her time wholly in reading and ſtudy, intermeddled in no buſineſs, and ſaw very little company. While ſhe remained in this ſituation, which for the preſent was melancholy, but which prepared her mind for thoſe great actions by which her life was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed, propoſals of marriage were made to her by the Swediſh ambaſſador in his maſter's name. As her firſt queſtion was, Whether the queen had been informed of theſe propoſals? the ambaſſador told her that his maſter thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty firſt to make his addreſſes to herſelf; and, having obtained her conſent, he would next, as a king, apply to her ſiſter. But the princeſs would allow him to proceed no farther; and the queen, after thanking her for this inſtance of duty, deſired to know how ſhe ſtood affected to the Swediſh propoſals. Elizabeth, though expoſed to many preſent dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to reſerve herſelf for better fortune; and ſhe covered her refuſal with profeſſions of a paſſionate attachment to a ſingle life,[k] which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe infinitely preferred before any other. The princeſs ſhewed like prudence in concealing her ſentiments of religion, in complying with the preſent modes of worſhip, and in eluding all queſtions with regard to that delicate ſubject.[l]

The money granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty ſail; which, being joined by thirty Flemiſh ſhips, and carrying ſix thouſand land forces on

board, was ſent to make an attempt on the coaſt of Brittany. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton, the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was ſo dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the deſign, and were prepared to receive them. The Engliſh found Breſt ſo well guarded as to render an attempt on that place impracticable; but, landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with ſome adjacent villages; and were proceeding to commit greater diſorders when Kerſimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of ſome militia, fell upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their ſhips with conſiderable loſs. But a ſmall ſquadron of ten Engliſh ſhips had an opportunity of amply revenging this diſgrace upon the French. The mareſchal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thouſand men; and, having forced a paſſage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced as far as Newport; but, count Egmont coming ſuddenly upon him with ſuperior forces, he was obliged to retreat; and, being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a battle inevitable, he choſe very ſkilfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions poſſible; and poſted his right along the river Aa, which he reaſonably thought gave him full ſecurity from that quarter. But the Engliſh ſhips, which were accidentally on the coaſt, being drawn by the noiſe of the firing, ſailed up the river, and, flanking the French, did ſuch execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and the Spaniards gained a complete victory.[m]

Meanwhile the principal army of France under the duke of Guiſe, and that of Spain under the duke of Savoy, approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and, as the two kings had come into their reſpective camps, attended by the flower

of their nobility, men expected that ſome great and important event would follow from the emulation of theſe warlike nations. But Philip, though actuated by the ambition, poſſeſſed not the enterpriſing genius, of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by treaty. Negociations were entered into for that purpoſe; and, as the terms offered by the two monarchs were ſomewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter quarters till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the reſtitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais and its territory to England: but, in the midſt of theſe negociations, news arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his firmneſs on that capital article. This was the only circumſtance that could have made the death of that princeſs be regretted by the nation.

DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

MARY had long been in a declining ſtate of health; and, having miſtaken her dropſy for a pregnancy, ſhe had made uſe of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The conſciouſneſs of being hated by her ſubjects, the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion, apprehenſions of the danger to which the catholic religion ſtood expoſed, dejection for the loſs of Calais, concern for the ill ſtate of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the abſence of her huſband, who ſhe knew intended ſoon to depart for Spain, and to ſettle there during the remainder of his life; all theſe melancholy reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which ſhe died, on the ſeventeenth of November, after

a ſhort and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

It is not neceſſary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princeſs. She poſſeſſed few qualities either eſtimable or amiable; and her perſon was as little engaging as her behaviour and addreſs. Obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumſtance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow underſtanding. And, amidſt that complication of vices which entered into her compoſition, we ſhall ſcarcely find any virtue but ſincerity; a quality which ſhe ſeems to have maintained throughout her whole life, except in the beginning of her reign, when the neceſſity of her affairs obliged her to make ſome promiſes to the proteſtants which ſhe certainly never intended to perform. But in theſe caſes a weak bigotted woman, under the government of prieſts, eaſily finds caſuiſtry ſufficient to juſtify to herſelf the violation of a promiſe. She appears alſo, as well as her father, to have been ſuſceptible of ſome attachments of friendſhip, and that without the caprice and inconſtancy which were ſo remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that in many circumſtances of her life ſhe gave indications of reſolution and vigour of mind; a quality which ſeems to have been inherent in her family.

Cardinal Pole had long been ſickly, from an intermitting fever; and he died the ſame day with the queen, about ſixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modeſty and humanity of his deportment, made him be univerſally beloved; inſomuch that, in a nation where the moſt furious perſecution was carried on, and where the moſt violent religious factions prevailed, entire juſtice, even by moſt of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff Paul IV had entertained ſome prejudices againſt him; and, when England

declared war againſt Henry, the ally of that pope, he ſeized the opportunity of revenge; and, revoking Pole's legantine commiſſion, appointed in his room cardinal Peyto, an obſervantine friar and confeſſor to the queen. But Mary would never permit the new legate to act upon the commiſſion; and Paul was afterwards obliged to reſtore cardinal Pole to his authority.

There occur few general remarks, beſides what have already been made in the courſe of our narration, with regard to the general ſtate of the kingdom during this reign. The naval power of England was then ſo inconſiderable that, fourteen thouſand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thouſand pounds a year would afterwards [n] anſwer all neceſſary charges. The arbitrary proceedings of the queen above mentioned, joined to many monopolies granted by this princeſs, as well as by her father, checked the growth of commerce; and ſo much the more, as all other princes in Europe either were not permitted, or did not find it neceſſary, to proceed in ſo tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the laſt reign and in the beginning of the preſent, had laid the ſame impoſitions on the merchants of the ſtill-yard as on other aliens; yet the queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the ſolicitations of the emperor, and by her prerogative ſuſpended thoſe laws.[o] Nobody in that age pretended to queſtion this exerciſe of prerogative. The hiſtorians are entirely ſilent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us.

An abſurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unleſs he had ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſeven years. The law was repealed in the firſt year of the queen; and this plain reaſon given, that it had occaſioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined ſeveral towns.[p] It is ſtrange that Edward's law ſhould

have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth, and ſtill more ſtrange that it ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt.

A paſſage to Archangel had been diſcovered by the Engliſh during the laſt reign; and a beneficial trade with Muſcovy had been eſtabliſhed. A ſolemn embaſſy was ſent by the czar to queen Mary. The ambaſſadors were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Scotland; but, being hoſpitably entertained there, they proceeded on the journey, and were received at London with great pomp and ſolemnity.[q] This ſeems to have been the firſt intercourſe which that empire had with any of the weſtern potentates of Europe.

A law was paſſed in this reign,[r] by which the number of horſes, arms, and furniture, was fixed, which each perſon, according to the extent of his property, ſhould be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thouſand pounds a year, for inſtance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge ſix horſes fit for demi-lances, of which three at leaſt to be furniſhed with ſufficient harneſs, ſteel ſaddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten horſes fit for light horſemen, with furniture and weapons proper for them: he was obliged to have forty corſlets furniſhed; fifty almain revets, or, inſtead of them, forty coats of plate, corſlets or brigandines, furniſhed; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty ſheafs of arrows, thirty ſteel caps or ſculls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty harquebuts, and twenty morions or ſallets. We may remark that a man of a thouſand marks of ſtock was rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a year: a proof that few or none at that time lived on their ſtock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the courſe of trade. There is no claſs above a thouſand pounds a year.

We may form a notion of the little progreſs made in arts and refinement about this time from one circumſtance: a man

of no leſs rank than the comptroller of Edward VI's houſehold paid only thirty ſhillings a year of our preſent money for his houſe in Channel row;[s] yet labour and proviſions, and conſequently houſes, were only about a third of the preſent price. Eraſmus aſcribes the frequent plagues in England to the naſtineſs and dirt and ſlovenly habits among the people. 'The floors,' ſays he, 'are commonly of clay, ſtrewed with ruſhes, under which lies unmoleſted an ancient collection of beer, greaſe, fragments, bones, ſpittle, excrements of dogs and cats,' and every thing that is naſty.'

Hollingſhed, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain, or rather rude, way of living of the preceding generation. There ſcarcely was a chimney to the houſes, even in conſiderable towns: the fire was kindled by the wall, and the ſmoke ſought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows: the houſes were nothing but watling plaſtered over with clay: the people ſlept on ſtraw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow, and almoſt all the furniture and utenſils were of wood.[u]

In this reign we find the firſt general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by pariſh duty all over England.[x]

ADMIRAL DRAKE KNIGHTED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH.

CHAP. XXXVII. XXXIX. XL. XLI. XLII. XLIII.

QUEEN'S POPULARITY: RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION: PEACE WITH FRANCE: REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND: CIVIL WARS IN SCOTLAND: CONFEDERACY AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS: INSURRECTIONS IN SCOTLAND: IMPRISONMENT OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS: THE PURITANS: NORFOLK'S CONSPIRACY: CIVIL WARS IN FRANCE: NEW CONSPIRACY OF NORFOLK: HIS TRIAL & EXECUTION: MASSACRE OF PARIS: NEGOCIATION OF MARRIAGE WITH THE DUKE OF ANJOU: HOSTILITIES WITH SPAIN: BABINGTON'S CONSPIRACY: MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TRIED & EXECUTED: THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA: PEACE OF VERVINS: TYRONE'S REBELLION: INSURRECTION OF ESSEX: HIS TRIAL & EXECUTION: QUEEN'S DEATH & CHARACTER.

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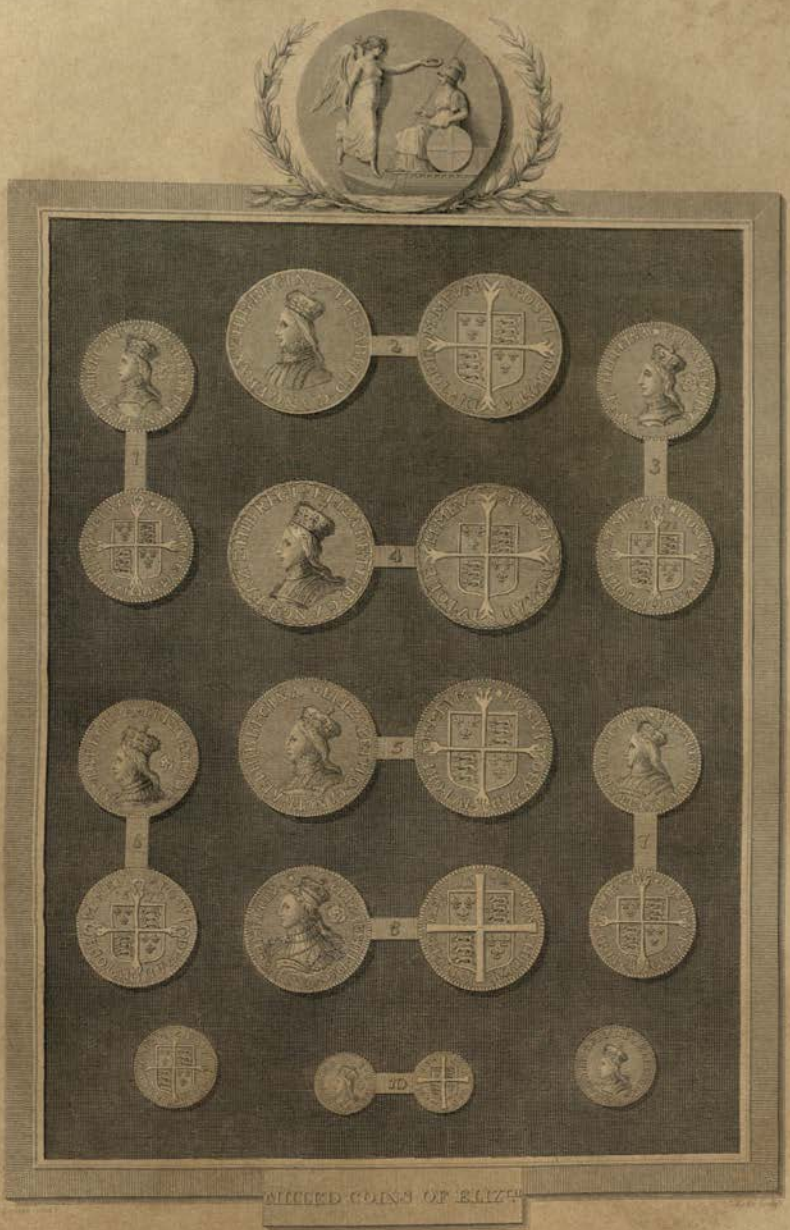


MILLED COINS OF ELIZ.th

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ELIZABETH.

1558....1603.

QUEEN'S POPULARITY....RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION....A PARLIAMENT....PEACE WITH FRANCE....DISGUST BETWEEN THE QUEEN AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS....AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND....REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND....CIVIL WARS IN SCOTLAND....INTERPOSAL OF THE QUEEN IN THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND....SETTLEMENT OF SCOTLAND....FRENCH AFFAIRS.... ARRIVAL OF MARY IN SCOTLAND....BIGOTRY OF THE SCOTCH REFORMERS....WISE GOVERNMENT OF ELIZABETH.

QUEEN'S POPULARITY. 1558.

IN a nation ſo divided as the Engliſh, it could ſcarcely be expected that the death of one ſovereign, and the acceſſion of another, who was generally believed to have embraced oppoſite principles to thoſe which prevailed, could be the object of univerſal ſatisfaction: yet ſo much were men diſpleaſed with the preſent conduct of affairs, and ſuch apprehenſions were entertained of futurity, that the people, overlooking their theological

diſputes, expreſſed a general and unfeigned joy that the ſceptre had paſſed into the hand of Elizabeth. That princeſs had diſcovered great prudence in her conduct during the reign of her ſiſter; and, as men were ſenſible of the imminent danger to which ſhe was every moment expoſed, compaſſion towards her ſituation, and concern for her ſafety, had rendered her, to an uncommon degree, the favourite of the nation. A parliament had been aſſembled a few days before Mary's death; and, when Heathe, archbiſhop of York, then chancellor, notified to them that event, ſcarcely an interval of regret appeared; and the two houſes immediately reſounded with the joyful acclamations of 'God ſave queen Elizabeth! Long and happily may ſhe reign!' The people, leſs actuated by faction, and leſs influenced by private views, expreſſed a joy ſtill more general and hearty on her proclamation; and the auſpicious commencement of this reign prognoſticated that felicity and glory which, during its whole courſe, ſo uniformly attended it.[a]

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when ſhe heard of her ſiſter's death; and, after a few days, ſhe went thence to London through crowds of people, who ſtrove with each other in giving her the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of their affection. On her entrance into the tower ſhe could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her preſent fortune and that which a few years before had attended her, when ſhe was conducted to that place as a priſoner, and lay there expoſed to all the bigotted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees, and expreſſed her thanks to Heaven for the deliverance which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody perſecutors; a deliverance, ſhe ſaid, no leſs miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude ſeems to have been the laſt circumſtance in which ſhe remembered any paſt hardſhips and injuries. With a prudence and magnanimity

truly laudable, ſhe buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even thoſe who had acted with the greateſt malevolence againſt her. Sir Harry Bennifield himſelf, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe had been committed, and who had treated her with ſeverity, never felt, during the whole courſe of her reign,[b] any effects of her reſentment. Yet was not the gracious reception which ſhe gave proſtitute and undiſtinguiſhing. When the biſhops came in a body to make their obeiſance to her, ſhe expreſſed to all of them ſentiments of regard, except to Bonner, from whom ſhe turned aſide, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a juſt object of horror to every heart ſuſceptible of humanity.[c]

After employing a few days in ordering her domeſtic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts her ſiſter's death and her own acceſſion. She ſent lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then reſided; and ſhe took care to expreſs to that monarch her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her deſire of perſevering in that friendſhip which had ſo happily commenced between them. Philip, who had long foreſeen this event, and who ſtill hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England, of which he had failed in eſpouſing Mary, immediately diſpatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambaſſador at London, to make propoſals of marriage to the queen; and he offered to procure from Rome a diſpenſation for that purpoſe. But Elizabeth ſoon came to the reſolution of declining the propoſal. She ſaw that the nation had entertained an extreme averſion to the Spaniſh alliance during her ſiſter's reign, and that one great cauſe of the popularity which ſhe herſelf enjoyed was the proſpect of being freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign ſubjection. She was ſenſible that her affinity with Philip was exactly ſimilar to that of her father with Catharine of Arragon; and that her marrying

that monarch was, in effect, declaring herſelf illegitimate, and incapable of ſucceeding to the throne. And, though the power of the Spaniſh monarchy might ſtill be ſufficient, in oppoſition to all pretenders, to ſupport her title, her maſculine ſpirit diſdained ſuch precarious dominion, which, as it would depend ſolely on the power of another, muſt be exerciſed according to his inclinations.[d] But, while theſe views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, ſhe gave him an obliging, though evaſive, anſwer; and he ſtill retained ſuch hopes of ſucceſs, that he ſent a meſſenger to Rome with orders to ſolicit the diſpenſation.

The queen too, on her ſiſter's death, had written to ſir Edward Carne, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Rome, to notify her acceſſion to the pope; but the precipitate nature of Paul broke through all the cautious meaſures concerted by this young princeſs. He told Carne that England was a fief of the holy ſee; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have aſſumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen: that, being illegitimate, ſhe could not poſſibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the ſentence pronounced by Clement VII and Paul III with regard to Henry's marriage: that, were he to proceed with rigour, he ſhould puniſh this criminal invaſion of his rights by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would ſtill keep the door of grace open to her; and that, if ſhe would renounce all pretenſions to the crown, and ſubmit entirely to his will, ſhe ſhould experience the utmoſt lenity compatible with the dignity of the apoſtolic ſee.[e] When this anſwer was reported to Elizabeth ſhe was aſtoniſhed at the character of that aged pontiff; and, having recalled her ambaſſador, ſhe continued with more determined reſolution to purſue thoſe meaſures which already ſhe had ſecretly embraced.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

THE queen, not to alarm the partiſans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her ſiſter's counſellors; but, in order to balance their authority, ſhe added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the proteſtant communion; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, ſir Thomas Parry, ſir Edward Rogers, ſir Ambroſe Cave, ſir Francis Knolles, ſir Nicholas Bacon, whom ſhe created lord keeper, and ſir William Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate.[f] With theſe counſellors, particularly Cecil, ſhe frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of reſtoring the proteſtant religion, and the means of executing that great enterpriſe. Cecil told her that the greater part of the nation had, ever ſince her father's reign, inclined to the reformation; and, though her ſiſter had conſtrained them to profeſs the ancient faith, the cruelties exerciſed by her miniſters had ſtill more alienated their affections from it: that happily the intereſts of the ſovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: that a ſentence, ſo ſolemnly pronounced by two popes againſt her mother's marriage, could not poſſibly be recalled, without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the ſee of Rome; and even, if ſhe were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependant footing: that this circumſtance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatſoever; and theſe dangers themſelves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable: that the curſes and execrations of the Romiſh church, when not ſeconded by military force, were, in the preſent age, more an object of ridicule than of terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next: that, though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might in-

cline them to execute a ſentence of excommunication againſt her, their intereſts were ſo incompatible, that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one would always enſure to her the friendſhip of the other: that, if they encouraged the diſcontents of her catholic ſubjects, their dominions alſo abounded with proteſtants, and it would be eaſy to retaliate upon them: that even ſuch of the Engliſh as ſeemed at preſent zealouſly attached to the catholic faith would, moſt of them, embrace the religion of their new ſovereign; and the nation had of late been ſo much accuſtomed to theſe revolutions, that men had loſt all idea of truth and falſehood in ſuch ſubjects: that the authority of Henry VIII, ſo highly raiſed by many concurring circumſtances, firſt inured the people to this ſubmiſſive deference; and it was the leſs difficult for ſucceeding princes to continue the nation in a track to which it had ſo long been accuſtomed: and that it would be eaſy for her, by beſtowing on proteſtants all preferment in civil offices and the militia, the church and the univerſities, both to enſure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant.[g]

The education of Elizabeth, as well as her intereſt, led her to favour the reformation; and ſhe remained not long in ſuſpenſe with regard to the party which ſhe ſhould embrace. But, though determined in her own mind, ſhe reſolved to proceed by gradual and ſecure ſteps, and not to imitate the example of Mary in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invaſion on the eſtabliſhed religion.[h] She thought it requiſite, however, to diſcover ſuch ſymptoms of her intentions as might give encouragement to the proteſtants, ſo much depreſſed by the late violent perſecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the priſoners who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleaſantry of one Rainsford on this occaſion, who ſaid to the queen that he

had a petition to preſent her in behalf of other priſoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. She readily replied that it behoved her firſt to conſult the priſoners themſelves, and to learn of them whether they deſired that liberty which he demanded for them.[i]

Elizabeth alſo proceeded to exert, in favour of the reformers, ſome acts of power which were authoriſed by the extent of royal prerogative during that age. Finding that the proteſtant teachers, irritated by perſecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient ſuperſtition, and that the Romaniſts replied with no leſs zeal and acrimony, ſhe publiſhed a proclamation, by which ſhe inhibited all preaching without a ſpecial licenſe;[k] and, though ſhe diſpenſed with theſe orders in favour of ſome preachers of her own ſect, ſhe took care that they ſhould be the moſt calm and moderate of the party. She alſo ſuſpended the laws ſo far as to order a great part of the ſervice, the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the goſpels, to be read in Engliſh. And, having firſt publiſhed injunctions that all the churches ſhould conform themſelves to the practice of her own chapel, ſhe forbad the hoſt to be any more elevated in her preſence: an innovation which, however frivolous it may appear, implied the moſt material conſequences.[l]

Theſe declarations of her intentions, concurring with preceding ſuſpicions, made the biſhops foreſee, with certainty, a revolution in religion. They therefore refuſed to officiate at her coronation; and it was with ſome difficulty that the biſhop of Carliſle was at laſt prevailed on to perform the ceremony. When ſhe was conducted through London, amidſt the joyful acclamations of her ſubjects, a boy, who perſonated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and preſented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the moſt gracious deportment; placed it next her boſom; and declared that, amidſt

all the coſtly teſtimonies which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this preſent was by far the moſt precious and moſt acceptable.[m] Such were the innocent artifices by which Elizabeth inſinuated herſelf into the affections of her ſubjects. Open in her addreſs, gracious and affable in all public appearances, ſhe rejoiced in the concourſe of her ſubjects, entered into all their pleaſures and amuſements; and, without departing from her dignity, which ſhe knew well how to preſerve, ſhe acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predeceſſors or ſucceſſors ever could attain. Her own ſex exulted to ſee a woman hold the reins of empire with ſuch prudence and fortitude: and, while a young princeſs of twenty-five years (for that was her age at her acceſſion), who poſſeſſed all the graces and inſinuation, though not all the beauty, of her ſex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her ſervices, her authority, though corroborated by the ſtricteſt bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

A PARLIAMENT.

A SOVEREIGN of this diſpoſition was not likely to offend her ſubjects by any uſeleſs or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though ſhe threw out ſuch hints as encouraged the proteſtants, delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. The elections had gone entirely againſt the catholics, who ſeem not indeed to have made any great ſtruggle for the ſuperiority;[n] and the houſes met in a diſpoſition of gratifying the queen in every particular which ſhe could deſire of them. They began the ſeſſion with an unanimous declaration 'that queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God as the common

'and ſtatute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully deſcended from the blood royal, according to the order of ſucceſſion ° ſettled in the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII.' This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herſelf and her miniſters; and ſhe ſhewed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which ſhe employed on that occaſion. She followed not Mary's practice, in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expreſsly repealing the act formerly made againſt her own legitimacy: ſhe knew that this attempt muſt be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceaſed ſiſter; and, as all the world was ſenſible that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his uſual violence and caprice, ſhe ſcorned to found her title on any act of an aſſembly which had too much proſtituted its authority by its former variable, ſervile, and iniquitous deciſions. Satisfied, therefore, in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted the leſs anxiety ſhe diſcovered in fortifying it by votes and inquiries, ſhe took poſſeſſion of the throne, both as her birthright and as enſured to her by former acts of parliament, and ſhe never appeared anxious to diſtinguiſh theſe titles.[P]

The firſt bill brought into parliament, with a view of trying their diſpoſition on the head of religion, was that for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries lately erected, and for reſtoring the tenths and firſt-fruits to the queen. This point being gained with much difficulty, a bill was next introduced annexing the ſupremacy to the crown; and, though the queen was there denominated governeſs, not head, of the church, it conveyed the ſame extenſive power which under the latter title had been exerciſed by her father and brother. All the biſhops who were preſent in the upper houſe ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this law; and, as they

poſſeſſed more learning than the temporal peers, they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that houſe, as well as among the commons, was againſt them. By this act the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament or even of the convocation, was veſted with the whole ſpiritual power; might repreſs all hereſies, might eſtabliſh or repeal all canons, might alter every point of diſcipline, and might ordain or aboliſh any religious rite or ceremony.[q] In determining hereſy the ſovereign was only limited (if that could be called a limitation) to ſuch doctrines as had been adjudged hereſy by the authority of the ſcripture, by the firſt four general councils, or by any general council which followed the ſcripture as their rule, or to ſuch other doctrines as ſhould hereafter be denominated hereſy by the parliament and convocation. In order to exerciſe this authority, the queen, by a clauſe of the act, was empowered to name commiſſioners, either laymen or clergymen, as ſhe ſhould think proper; and on this clauſe was afterwards founded the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; which aſſumed large diſcretionary, not to ſay arbitrary, powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the conſtitution. Their proceedings indeed were only conſiſtent with abſolute monarchy, but were entirely ſuitable to the genius of the act on which they were eſtabliſhed; an act that at once gave the crown alone all the power which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even theſe uſurping prelates had never been able fully to exerciſe without ſome concurrence of the national clergy.

Whoever refuſed to take an oath, acknowledging the queen's ſupremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office: whoever denied the ſupremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the firſt offence, all his goods and chattels; for the ſecond, was ſubjected to the penalty of a premunire; but the third offence was declared treaſon. Theſe

puniſhments, however ſevere, were leſs rigorous than thoſe which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like caſes.

A law was paſſed, confirming all the ſtatutes enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion:[r] the nomination of biſhops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters: the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any ſee, to ſeize all the temporalities, and to beſtow on the biſhop elect an equivalent on the impropriations belonging to the crown: this pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value. And thus the queen, amidſt all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers in committing depredations on the eccleſiaſtical revenues.

The biſhops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leaſes longer than twenty-one years, or three lives. This law ſeemed to be meant for ſecuring the property of the church; but, as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuſes ſtill prevailed. It was uſual for the courtiers during this reign to make an agreement with a biſhop or incumbent, and to procure a fictitious alienation to the queen, who afterwards transferred the lands to the perſon agreed on.[s] This method of pillaging the church was not remedied till the beginning of James I. The preſent depreſſion of the clergy expoſed them to all injuries; and the laity never ſtopped till they had reduced the church to ſuch poverty, that her plunder was no longer a compenſation for the odium incurred by it.

A ſolemn and public diſputation was held during this ſeſſion, in preſence of lord keeper Bacon, between the divines of the proteſtant and thoſe of the catholic communion. The champions, appointed to defend the religion of the ſovereign, were, as in all former inſtances, entirely triumphant; and the popiſh

diſputants, being pronounced refractory and obſtinate, were even puniſhed by impriſonment.[t] Emboldened by this victory, the proteſtants ventured on the laſt and moſt important ſtep, and brought into parliament a bill[u] for aboliſhing the maſs, and reeſtabliſhing the liturgy of king Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well againſt thoſe who departed from this mode of worſhip as againſt thoſe who abſented themſelves from the church and the ſacraments. And thus, in one ſeſſion, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole ſyſtem of religion altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman, whoſe title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: an event which, though it may appear ſurpriſing to men in the preſent age, was every where expected on the firſt intelligence of Elizabeth's acceſſion.

The commons alſo made a ſacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: they voted a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on moveables,[w] together with two fifteenths. The houſe in no inſtance departed from the moſt reſpectful deference and complaiſance towards the queen. Even the importunate addreſs which they made her on the concluſion of the ſeſſion, to fix her choice of a huſband, could not, they ſuppoſed, be very diſagreeable to one of her ſex and age. The addreſs was couched in the moſt reſpectful expreſſions, yet met with a refuſal from the queen. She told the ſpeaker that, as the application from the houſe was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a huſband, ſhe could not take offence at the addreſs, or regard it otherwiſe than as a new inſtance of their affectionate attachment to her: that any farther interpoſition on their part would have ill become either them to make as ſubjects, or her to bear as an independent princeſs: that, even while ſhe was a

private perſon, and expoſed to much danger, ſhe had always declined that engagement, which ſhe regarded as an incumbrance; much more at preſent would ſhe perſevere in this ſentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the intereſts of religion and the happineſs of her ſubjects: that, as England was her huſband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here ſhe ſhewed her finger with the ſame gold ring upon it with which ſhe had ſolemnly betrothed herſelf to the kingdom at her inauguration), ſo all Engliſhmen were her children; and, while ſhe was employed in rearing or governing ſuch a family, ſhe could not deem herſelf barren, or her life uſeleſs and unprofitable: that, if ſhe ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her ſubjects' welfare would ſtill be uppermoſt in her thoughts; but, ſhould ſhe live and die a virgin, ſhe doubted not but divine Providence, ſeconded by their counſels and her own meaſures, would be able to prevent all diſpute with regard to the ſucceſſion, and ſecure them a ſovereign who, perhaps better than her own iſſue, would imitate her example in loving and cheriſhing her people: and that, for her part, ſhe deſired that no higher character or fairer remembrance of her ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity, than to have this inſcription engraved on her tomb-ſtone [x] when ſhe ſhould pay the laſt debt to nature: 'Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen.'

After the prorogation of the parliament [y] the laws enacted with regard to religion were put in execution, and met with little oppoſition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of ſupremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of biſhops had been reduced to fourteen by a ſickly ſeaſon which preceded; and all theſe, except the biſhop of Landaff, having refuſed compliance, were degraded from their ſees: but, of the inferior clergy throughout

all England, where there are near ten thouſand pariſhes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, ſacrificed their livings to their religious principles.[z] Thoſe in high eccleſiaſtic ſtations, being expoſed to the eyes of the public, ſeem chiefly to have placed a point of honour in their perſeverance; but, on the whole, the proteſtants, in the former change introduced by Mary, appear to have been much more rigid and conſcientious. Though the catholic religion, adapting itſelf to the ſenſes, and enjoining obſervances which enter into the common train of life, does at preſent lay faſter hold on the mind than the reformed, which, being chiefly ſpiritual, reſembles more a ſyſtem of metaphyſics; yet was the proportion of zeal, as well as of knowledge, during the firſt ages after the reformation, much greater on the ſide of the proteſtants. The catholics continued, ignorantly and ſupinely, in their ancient belief, or rather their ancient practices: but the reformers, obliged to diſpute on every occaſion, and inflamed to a degree of enthuſiaſm by novelty and perſecution, had ſtrongly attached themſelves to their tenets, and were ready to ſacrifice their fortunes, and even their lives, in ſupport of their ſpeculative and abſtract principles.

The forms and ceremonies ſtill preſerved in the Engliſh liturgy, as they bore ſome reſemblance to the ancient ſervice, tended farther to reconcile the catholics to the eſtabliſhed religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worſhip, and at the ſame time ſtruck out every thing that could be offenſive to them in the new liturgy,[a] even thoſe who were addicted to the Romiſh communion made no ſcruple of attending the eſtabliſhed church. Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumſtance with the people, would have been ſtill more ſimilar between the new and the ancient form of worſhip. Her love of ſtate and magnificence,

which ſhe affected in every thing, inſpired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the catholic religion; and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party that ſhe gave up either images or the addreſſes to ſaints, or prayers for the dead.[b] Some foreign princes interpoſed to procure the Romaniſts the privilege of ſeparate aſſemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their requeſt; and ſhe repreſented the manifeſt danger of diſturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions.[c]

PEACE WITH FRANCE. 1559.

While the queen and parliament were employed in ſettling the public religion, the negociations for a peace were ſtill conducted, firſt at Cercamp, then at Cateau Cambreſis, between the miniſters of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally ſucceſsful in this tranſaction. Philip employed his utmoſt efforts to procure the reſtitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in intereſt to remove France to a diſtance from his frontiers in the Low Countries. So long as he entertained hopes of eſpouſing the queen he delayed concluding a peace with Henry; and, even after the change of religion in England deprived him of all ſuch views, his miniſters hinted to her a propoſal which may be regarded as reaſonable and honourable. Though all his own terms with France were ſettled, he ſeemed willing to continue the war till ſhe ſhould obtain ſatisfaction; provided ſhe would ſtipulate to adhere to the Spaniſh alliance, and continue hoſtilities againſt Henry during the courſe of ſix years.[d] But Elizabeth, after conſulting with her miniſters, wiſely rejected this propoſal. She was ſenſible of the low ſtate of her finances; the great debts

contracted by her father, brother, and ſiſter; the diſorders introduced into every part of the adminiſtration; the diviſions by which her people were agitated; and ſhe was convinced that nothing but tranquillity during ſome years could bring the kingdom again into a flouriſhing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her tranſactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry put upon Calais, and the impoſſibility, during the preſent emergence, of recovering it by treaty, ſhe was willing rather to ſuffer that loſs than to ſubmit to ſuch a dependance on Spain as ſhe muſt expect to fall into if ſhe continued pertinaciouſly in her preſent demand. She ordered, therefore, her ambaſſadors, lord Effingham, the biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, to conclude the negociation, and to ſettle a peace with Henry, on any reaſonable terms. Henry offered to ſtipulate a marriage between the eldeſt daughter of the dauphin and the eldeſt ſon of Elizabeth; and to engage for the reſtitution of Calais as the dowry of that princeſs;[e] but, as the queen was ſenſible that this treaty would appear to the world a palpable evaſion, ſhe inſiſted upon more equitable, at leaſt more plauſible, conditions. It was at laſt agreed that Henry ſhould reſtore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in caſe of failure, he ſhould pay five hundred thouſand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais ſtill remain; that he ſhould find the ſecurity of ſeven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this ſum; that he ſhould deliver five hoſtages till that ſecurity were provided; that, if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, ſhe ſhould forfeit all title to Calais; but, if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he ſhould be obliged immediately to reſtore that fortreſs.[f] All men of penetration eaſily ſaw that theſe ſtipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excuſed the queen on account of the neceſſity of her affairs; and they even

extolled her prudence in ſubmitting, without farther ſtruggle, to that neceſſity. A peace with Scotland was a neceſſary conſequence of that with France.

Philip and Henry terminated hoſtilities by a mutual reſtitution of all places taken during the courſe of the war; and Philip eſpouſed the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his ſon Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's ſiſter, and obtained a reſtitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns retained by France. And thus general tranquillity ſeemed to be reſtored to Europe.

DISGUST BETWEEN THE QUEEN AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

But, though peace was concluded between France and England, there ſoon appeared a ground of quarrel of the moſt ſerious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the moſt important conſequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII, that with Catherine of Arragon and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other; and it ſeemed impoſſible that both of them could be regarded as valid and legal: but ſtill the birth of Elizabeth lay under ſome diſadvantages, to which that of her ſiſter Mary was not expoſed. Henry's firſt marriage had obtained the ſanction of all the powers, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural for proteſtants, as well as Romaniſts, to allow, on account of the ſincere intention of the parties, that their iſſue ought to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and ſecond marriage had been concluded in direct oppoſition to the ſee of Rome; and, though they had been ratified by the authority both of the Engliſh parliament and convocation, thoſe who were ſtrongly attached to the catholic communion, and who reaſoned with

great ſtrictneſs, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of ſucceſſion. The next heir of blood was the queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princeſs, joined to her plauſible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had ſecretly been ſoliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication againſt the queen; and ſhe had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from intereſt more than either friendſhip or generoſity, had negociated in her favour, and had ſucceſsfully oppoſed the pretenſions of Henry. But the court of France was not diſcouraged with this repulſe: the duke of Guiſe and his brothers, thinking that it would much augment their credit if their niece ſhould bring an acceſſion of England, as ſhe had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim; and, by their perſuaſion, he ordered his ſon and daughter-in-law to aſſume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter theſe arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the Engliſh ambaſſador complained of this injury he could obtain nothing but an evaſive anſwer, that, as the queen of Scots was deſcended from the blood royal of England, ſhe was entitled, by the example of many princes, to aſſume the arms of that kingdom. But, beſides that this practice had never prevailed without permiſſion being firſt obtained, and without making a viſible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly ſaw that this pretenſion had not been advanced during the reign of her ſiſter Mary; and that therefore the king of France intended, on the firſt opportunity, to diſpute her legitimacy and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, ſhe thenceforth conceived a violent jealouſy againſt the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as poſſible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The ſudden death of that monarch, who

was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the eſpouſals of his ſiſter with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his ſucceſſor, Francis II, ſtill continued to aſſume, without reſerve, the title of king of England, ſhe began to conſider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the preſent ſituation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury and providing for her own ſafety.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

THE murder of the cardinal-primate at St. Andrews had deprived the Scottiſh catholics of a head, whoſe ſeverity, courage, and capacity, had rendered him extremely formidable to the innovators in religion; and the execution of the laws againſt hereſy began thenceforth to be more remiſs. The queen regent governed the kingdom by prudent and moderate counſels; and, as ſhe was not diſpoſed to ſacrifice the civil intereſts of the ſtate to the bigotry or intereſts of the clergy, ſhe deemed it more expedient to temporize, and to connive at the progreſs of a doctrine which ſhe had not power entirely to repreſs. When informed of the death of Edward, and the acceſſion of Mary to the crown of England, ſhe entertained hopes that the Scottiſh reformers, deprived of the countenance which they received from that powerful kingdom, would loſe their ardour with their proſpect of ſucceſs, and would gradually return to the faith of their anceſtors. But the progreſs and revolutions of religion are little governed by the uſual maxims of civil policy; and the event much diſappointed the expectations of the regent. Many of the Engliſh preachers, terrified with the ſeverity of Mary's government, took ſhelter in Scotland, where they found more protection, and a milder adminiſtration; and, while they propagated

their theological tenets, they filled the whole kingdom with a juſt horror againſt the cruelties of the bigotted catholics, and ſhewed their diſciples the fate which they muſt expect, if ever their adverſaries ſhould attain an uncontrolled authority over them.

A hierarchy, moderate in its acquiſitions of power and riches, may ſafely grant a toleration to ſectaries; and the more it ſoftens the zeal of innovators by lenity and liberty, the more ſecurely will it poſſeſs thoſe advantages which the legal eſtabliſhments beſtow upon it. But, where ſuperſtition has raiſed a church to ſuch an exorbitant height as that of Rome, perſecution is leſs the reſult of bigotry in the prieſts than of a neceſſary policy; and the rigour of law is the only method of repelling the attacks of men, who, beſides religious zeal, have ſo many other motives, derived both from public and private intereſt, to engage them on the ſide of innovation. But, though ſuch overgrown hierarchies may long ſupport themſelves by theſe violent expedients, the time comes when ſeverities tend only to enrage the new ſectaries, and make them break through all bounds of reaſon and moderation. This criſis was now viſibly approaching in Scotland; and whoever conſiders merely the tranſactions reſulting from it will be inclined to throw the blame equally on both parties; whoever enlarges his view, and reflects on the ſituations, will remark the neceſſary progreſs of human affairs, and the operation of thoſe principles which are inherent in human nature.

REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

Some heads of the reformers in Scotland, ſuch as the earl of Argyle, his ſon lord Lorne, the earls of Morton and Glencarne, Erſkine of Dun, and others, obſerving the danger to which they

were expoſed, and deſirous to propagate their principles, entered privately into a bond or aſſociation; and called themſelves 'the Congregation of the Lord,' in contradiſtinction to the eſtabliſhed church, which they denominated the congregation of Satan. The tenor of the bond was as follows: 'We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the antichriſt of our time, do cruelly rage, ſeeking to overthrow and to deſtroy the goſpel of Chriſt and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to ſtrive in our Maſter's cauſe, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him. We do therefore promiſe, before the majeſty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace, ſhall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, ſubſtance, and our very lives, to maintain, ſet forward, and eſtabliſh, the moſt bleſſed word of God and his congregation; and ſhall labour, by all poſſible means, to have faithful miniſters, truly and purely to miniſter Chriſt's goſpel and ſacraments to his people. We ſhall maintain them, nouriſh them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Chriſt, and every member thereof, by our whole power, and at the hazard of our lives, againſt Satan and all wicked power, who may intend tyranny and trouble againſt the ſaid congregation: unto which holy word and congregation we do join ourſelves; and we forſake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the ſuperſtitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover ſhall declare ourſelves manifeſtly enemies thereto by this faithful promiſe before God, teſtified to this congregation by our ſubſcriptions. At Edinburgh,[g] the third of December 1557.'

Had the ſubſcribers of this zealous league been content only to demand a toleration of the new opinions; however incompatible their pretenſions might have been with the policy of the church of Rome, they would have had the praiſe of oppoſing tyrannical laws, enacted to ſupport an eſtabliſhment prejudicial

to civil ſociety: but it is plain that they carried their views much farther; and their practice immediately diſcovered the ſpirit by which they were actuated. Supported by the authority which they thought belonged to them as the congregation of the Lord, they ordained that prayers in the vulgar tongue[h] ſhould be uſed in all the pariſh churches of the kingdom; and that preaching, and the interpretation of the ſcriptures, ſhould be practiſed in private houſes, till God ſhould move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true miniſters.[i] Such bonds of aſſociation are always the forerunners of rebellion; and this violent invaſion of the eſtabliſhed religion was the actual commencement of it.

Before this league was publicly known or avowed the clergy, alarmed with the progreſs of the reformation, attempted to recover their loſt authority by a violent exerciſe of power, which tended ſtill farther to augment the zeal and number of their enemies. Hamilton, the primate, ſeized Walter Mill, a prieſt of an irreproachable life, who had embraced the new doctrines; and, having tried him at St. Andrews, condemned him to the flames for hereſy. Such general averſion was entertained againſt this barbarity, that it was ſome time before the biſhops could prevail on any one to act the part of a civil judge, and pronounce ſentence upon Mill; and, even after the time of his execution was fixed, all the ſhops of St. Andrews being ſhut, no one would ſell a rope to tie him to the ſtake, and the primate himſelf was obliged to furniſh this implement. The man bore the torture with that courage which, though uſual on theſe occaſions, always appears ſupernatural and aſtoniſhing to the multitude. The people, to expreſs their abhorrence againſt the cruelty of the prieſts, raiſed a monument of ſtones on the place of his execution; and, as faſt as the ſtones were removed by order of the clergy, they were again ſupplied from the voluntary zeal of

the populace.[k] It is in vain for men to oppoſe the ſevereſt puniſhment to the united motives of religion and public applauſe; and this was the laſt barbarity of the kind which the catholics had the power to exerciſe in Scotland.

Some time after the people diſcovered their ſentiments in ſuch a manner as was ſufficient to prognoſticate to the prieſts the fate which was awaiting them. It was uſual on the feſtival of St. Giles, the tutelar ſaint of Edinburgh, to carry in proceſſion the image of that ſaint; but the proteſtants, in order to prevent the ceremony, found means, on the eve of the feſtival, to purloin the ſtatue from the church; and they pleaſed themſelves with imagining the ſurpriſe and diſappointment of his votaries. The clergy, however, framed haſtily a new image, which, in deriſion, was called by the people young St. Giles; and they carried it through the ſtreets, attended by all the eccleſiaſtics in the town and neighbourhood. The multitude abſtained from violence ſo long as the queen regent continued a ſpectator, but the moment ſhe retired they invaded the idol, threw it in the mire, and broke it in pieces. The flight and terror of the prieſts and friars, who, it was remarked, deſerted in his greateſt diſtreſs the object of their worſhip, was the ſource of univerſal mockery and laughter.

Encouraged by all theſe appearances, the congregation proceeded with alacrity in openly ſoliciting ſubſcriptions to their league; and the death of Mary of England, with the acceſſion of Elizabeth, which happened about this time, contributed to increaſe their hopes of final ſucceſs in their undertaking. They ventured to preſent a petition to the regent, craving a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, ſcandalous, and deteſtable, lives of the prelates and eccleſiaſtics.[l] They framed a petition, which they intended to preſent to parliament, and in which, after premiſing that they could not communicate with

the damnable idolatry and intolerable abuſes of the papiſtical church, they deſired that the laws againſt heretics ſhould be executed by the civil magiſtrate alone, and that the ſcripture ſhould be the ſole rule in judging of hereſy.[m] They even petitioned the convocation, and inſiſted that prayers ſhould be ſaid in the vulgar tongue, and that biſhops ſhould be choſen with the conſent of the gentry of the dioceſe, and prieſts with the conſent of the pariſhioners.[n] The regent prudently temporized between theſe parties; and, as ſhe aimed at procuring a matrimonial crown for her ſon-in-law the dauphin, ſhe was, on that as well as other accounts, unwilling to come to extremities with either of them.

But, after this conceſſion was obtained, ſhe received orders from France, probably dictated by the violent ſpirit of her brothers, to proceed with rigour againſt the reformers, and to reſtore the royal authority by ſome ſignal act of power.[o] She made the more eminent of the proteſtant teachers be cited to appear before the council at Stirling; but, when their followers were marching thither in great multitudes, in order to protect and countenance them, ſhe entertained apprehenſions of an inſurrection, and, it is ſaid, diſſipated the people by a promiſe[p] that nothing ſhould be done to the prejudice of the miniſters. Sentence, however, was paſſed, by which all the miniſters were pronounced rebels on account of their not appearing: a meaſure which enraged the people, and made them reſolve to oppoſe the regent's authority by force of arms, and to proceed to extremities againſt the clergy of the eſtabliſhed religion.

In this critical time John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had paſſed ſome years in baniſhment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the higheſt fanaticiſm of his ſect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own character. He had been invited back to Scotland by the leaders of

the reformation; and, mounting the pulpit at Perth, during the preſent ferment of men's minds, he declaimed, with his uſual vehemence, againſt the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome, and incited his audience to exert their utmoſt zeal for its ſubverſion. A prieſt was ſo imprudent, after this ſermon, as to open his repoſitory of images and reliques, and prepare himſelf to ſay maſs. The audience, exalted to a diſpoſition for any furious enterpriſe, were as much enraged as if the ſpectacle had not been quite familiar to them: they attacked the prieſt with fury, broke the images in pieces, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, ſcattered about the ſacred vaſes, and left no implement of idolatrous worſhip, as they termed it, entire or undefaced. They thence proceeded, with additional numbers and augmented rage, to the monaſteries of the grey and black friars, which they pillaged in an inſtant: the Carthuſians underwent the ſame fate: and the populace, not content with robbing and expelling the monks, vented their fury on the buildings which had been the receptacles of ſuch abomination; and in a little time nothing but the walls of theſe edifices were left ſtanding. The inhabitants of Couper in Fife ſoon after imitated the example.[9]

CIVIL WARS IN SCOTLAND.

THE queen regent, provoked at theſe violences, aſſembled an army, and prepared to chaſtiſe the rebels. She had about two thouſand French under her command, with a few Scottiſh troops; and, being aſſiſted by ſuch of the nobility as were well affected to her, ſhe pitched her camp within ten miles of Perth. Even the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the queen's natural brother, though deeply engaged with the reformers, attended the regent in this enterpriſe, either becauſe

they blamed the fury of the populace, or hoped, by their own influence and authority, to mediate ſome agreement between the parties. The congregation, on the other hand, made preparations for defence; and, being joined by the earl of Glencarne from the weſt, and being countenanced by many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable from their numbers, as well as from the zeal by which they were animated. They ſent an addreſs to the regent, where they plainly inſinuated that, if they were purſued to extremities by the cruel beaſts the churchmen, they would have recourſe to foreign powers for aſſiſtance; and they ſubſcribed themſelves her faithful ſubjects in all things not repugnant to God, aſſuming, at the ſame time, the name of the faithful congregation of Chriſt Jeſus.[r] They applied to the nobility attending her, and maintained that their own paſt violences were juſtified by the word of God, which commands the godly to deſtroy idolatry, and all the monuments of it; and, though all civil authority was ſacred, yet was there a great difference between the authority and the perſons who exerciſed it;[s] and that it ought to be conſidered whether or not thoſe abominations, called by the peſtilent papiſts religion, and which they defend by fire and ſword, be the true religion of Chriſt Jeſus. They remonſtrated with ſuch of the queen's army as had formerly embraced their party, and told them 'that, as they were already reputed traitors by God, they ſhould likewiſe be excommunicated from the ſociety, and from the participation of the ſacraments of the church, which God by his mighty power had erected among them; whoſe miniſters have the ſame authority which Chriſt granted to his apoſtles in theſe words, Whoſe ſins ye ſhall forgive ſhall be forgiven, and whoſe ſins ye ſhall retain 'ſhall be retained.' We may here ſee that theſe new ſaints were no leſs lofty in their pretenſions than the ancient hierarchy; no wonder they were enraged againſt the latter as their rivals

in dominion. They joined to all theſe declarations an addreſs to the eſtabliſhed church; and they affixed this title to it: 'To the generation of antichriſt, the peſtilent prelates and their ſhavelings " in Scotland, the congregation of Chriſt Jeſus within the ſame ſayeth.' The tenor of the manifeſto was ſuitable to the title. They told the eccleſiaſtics, 'As ye by tyranny intend not only to deſtroy our bodies, but alſo by the ſame to hold our ſouls in bondage of the devil, ſubject to idolatry; ſo ſhall we, with all the force and power which God ſhall grant unto us, execute juſt vengeance and puniſhment upon you: yea, we ſhall begin that ſame war which God commanded Iſrael to execute againſt the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace ſhall never be made till you deſiſt from your open idolatry and cruel perſecution of God's children. And this, in the name of the eternal God, and of his ſon Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe verity we profeſs, and goſpel we have preached, and holy ſacraments rightly adminiſtered, we ſignify unto you to be our intent, ſo far as God will aſſiſt us to withſtand your idolatry. Take this for warning," and be not deceived.' With theſe outrageous ſymptoms commenced in Scotland that cant, hypocriſy, and fanaticiſm, which long infeſted that kingdom, and which, though now mollified by the lenity of the civil power, is ſtill ready to break out on all occaſions.

The queen regent, finding ſuch obſtinate zeal in the rebels, was content to embrace the counſels of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, and to form an accommodation with them. She was received into Perth, which ſubmitted, on her promiſing an indemnity for paſt offences, and engaging not to leave any French garriſon in the place. Complaints, very ill founded, immediately aroſe concerning the infraction of this capitulation. Some of the inhabitants, it was pretended, were moleſted, on account of the late violences; and ſome companies of Scotch ſoldiers, ſuppoſed to be in French pay, were quartered in the town; which

ſtep, though taken on very plauſible grounds, was loudly exclaimed againſt by the congregation.[x] It is aſſerted that the regent, to juſtify theſe meaſures, declared that princes ought not to have their promiſes too ſtrictly urged upon them, nor was any faith to be kept with heretics; and that, for her part, could ſhe find as good a colour, ſhe would willingly bereave all theſe men of their lives and fortunes.[y] But it is nowiſe likely that ſuch expreſſions ever dropped from this prudent and virtuous princeſs. On the contrary, it appears that all theſe violences were diſagreeable to her; that ſhe was in this particular overruled by the authority of the French counſellors placed about her; and that ſhe often thought, if the management of thoſe affairs had been intruſted wholly to herſelf, ſhe could eaſily, without force, have accommodated all differences.[z]

The congregation, inflamed with their own zeal, and enraged by theſe diſappointments, remained not long in tranquillity. Even before they left Perth, and while as yet they had no colour to complain of any violation of treaty, they had ſigned a new covenant, in which, beſides their engagements to mutual defence, they vowed, in the name of God, to employ their whole power in deſtroying every thing that diſhonoured his holy name: and this covenant was ſubſcribed, among others, by Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews.[a] Theſe two leaders now deſired no better pretence for deſerting the regent, and openly joining their aſſociates, than the complaints, however doubtful, or rather falſe, of her breach of promiſe. The congregation alſo, encouraged by this acceſſion of force, gave themſelves up entirely to the furious zeal of Knox, and renewed at Crail, Anſtruther, and other places in Fife, like depredations on the churches and monaſteries with thoſe formerly committed at Perth and Couper. The regent, who marched againſt them with her army, finding their power ſo much increaſed, was glad to conclude a truce for a few days,

and to paſs over with her forces to the Lothians. The reformers beſieged and took Perth; proceeded thence to Stirling, where they exerciſed their uſual fury; finding nothing able to reſiſt them, they bent their march to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which, as they had already anticipated the zeal of the congregation againſt the churches and monaſteries, gladly opened their gates to them. The regent, with a few forces which remained with her, took ſhelter in Dunbar, where ſhe fortified herſelf, in expectation of a reinforcement from France.

Meanwhile ſhe employed her partiſans in repreſenting to the people the dangerous conſequences of this open rebellion; and ſhe endeavoured to convince them that the lord James, under pretence of religion, had formed the ſcheme of wreſting the ſceptre from the hands of the ſovereign. By theſe conſiderations many were engaged to deſert the army of the congregation; but much more by the want of pay or any means of ſubſiſtence; and the regent, obſerving the malcontents to be much weakened, ventured to march to Edinburgh, with a deſign of ſuppreſſing them. On the interpoſition of the duke of Chatelrault, who ſtill adhered to her, ſhe agreed to a capitulation, in which ſhe granted them a toleration of their religion, and they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. Soon after they evacuated the city; and before they left it they proclaimed the articles of agreement; but they took care to publiſh only the articles favourable to themſelves, and they were guilty of an impoſture, in adding one to the number, namely, that idolatry ſhould not again be erected in any place where it was at that time ſuppreſſed.[b]

An agreement, concluded while men were in this diſpoſition, could not be durable; and both ſides endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves as much as poſſible againſt the enſuing rupture, which appeared inevitable. The regent, having got a reinforcement of

one thouſand men from France, began to fortify Leith, and the congregation ſeduced to their party the duke of Chatelrault, who had long appeared inclined to join them, and who was at laſt determined, by the arrival of his ſon, the earl of Arran, from France, where he had eſcaped many dangers, from the jealouſy as well as bigotry of Henry and the duke of Guiſe. More French troops ſoon after diſembarked under the command of La Broſſe, who was followed by the biſhop of Amiens and three doctors of the Sorbonne. Theſe laſt were ſupplied with ſtore of ſyllogiſms, authorities, citations, and ſcholaſtic arguments, which they intended to oppoſe to the Scottiſh preachers, and which they juſtly preſumed would acquire force, and produce conviction, by the influence of the French arms and artillery.[c]

The conſtable Montmorency had always oppoſed the marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scots, and had foretold that, by forming ſuch cloſe connexions with Scotland, the ancient league would be diſſolved; and the natives of that kingdom, jealous of a foreign yoke, would ſoon become, inſtead of allies attached by intereſt and inclination, the moſt inveterate enemies to the French government. But, though the event ſeemed now to have juſtified the prudence of that aged miniſter, it is not improbable, conſidering the violent counſels by which France was governed, that the inſurrection was deemed a favourable event; as affording a pretence for ſending over armies, for entirely ſubduing the country, for attainting the rebels,[d] and for preparing means thence to invade England, and ſupport Mary's title to the crown of that kingdom. The leaders of the congregation, well acquainted with theſe views, were not inſenſible of their danger, and ſaw that their only ſafety conſiſted in the vigour and ſucceſs of their meaſures. They were encouraged by the intelligence received of the ſudden death of Henry II; and, having paſſed an act from their own authority, depriving the

queen dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to evacuate the kingdom, they collected forces to put their edict in execution againſt them. They again became maſters of Edinburgh; but found themſelves unable to keep long poſſeſſion of that city. Their tumultuary armies, aſſembled in haſte, and ſupported by no pay, ſoon ſeparated upon the leaſt diſaſter, or even any delay of ſucceſs; and were incapable of reſiſting ſuch veteran troops as the French, who were alſo ſeconded by ſome of the Scottiſh nobility, among whom the earl of Bothwel diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, brother to the regent, was levying an army againſt them in Germany, they thought themſelves excuſable for applying, in this extremity, to the aſſiſtance of England; and, as the ſympathy of religion, as well as regard to national liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animoſity againſt that kingdom, this meaſure was the reſult of inclination [e] no leſs than of intereſt. Maitland of Lidington, therefore, and Robert Melvil, were ſecretly diſpatched by the congregation to ſolicit ſuccours from Elizabeth.

INTERPOSITION OF THE QUEEN IN SCOTCH AFFAIRS.

The wiſe council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this requeſt, which concurred ſo well with the views and intereſts of their miſtreſs. Cecil, in particular, repreſented to the queen that the union of the crowns of Scotland and France, both of them the hereditary enemies of England, was ever regarded as a pernicious event; and her father, as well as protector Somerſet, had employed every expedient, both of war and negociation, to prevent it: that the claim, which Mary advanced to the crown, rendered the preſent ſituation of England ſtill more dangerous, and demanded, on the part of the queen,

the greateſt vigilance and precaution: that the capacity, ambition, and exorbitant views, of the family of Guiſe, who now governed the French counſels, were ſufficiently known; and they themſelves made no ſecret of their deſign to place their niece on the throne of England: that, deeming themſelves ſecure of ſucceſs, they had already, ſomewhat imprudently and prematurely, taken off the maſk; and Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, ſent over, by every courier, inconteſtable proofs of their hoſtile intentions:[f] that they only waited till Scotland ſhould be entirely ſubdued; and, having thus deprived the Engliſh of the advantages reſulting from their ſituation and naval power, they prepared means for ſubverting the queen's authority: that the zealous catholics in England, diſcontented with the preſent government, and ſatisfied in the legality of Mary's title, would bring them conſiderable reinforcement, and would diſturb every meaſure of defence againſt that formidable power: that the only expedient for preventing theſe deſigns was to ſeize the preſent opportunity, and take advantage of a like zeal in the proteſtants of Scotland; nor could any doubt be entertained with regard to the juſtice of a meaſure founded on ſuch evident neceſſity, and directed only to the ends of ſelf-preſervation: that, though a French war, attended with great expenſe, ſeemed the neceſſary conſequence of ſupporting the malcontents of Scotland, that power, if removed to the continent, would be much leſs formidable; and a ſmall diſburſement at preſent would in the end be found the greateſt frugality: and that the domeſtic diſſenſions of France, which every day augmented, together with the alliance of Philip, who, notwithſtanding his bigotry and hypocriſy, would never permit the entire conqueſt of England, were ſufficient to ſecure the queen againſt the dangerous ambition and reſentment of the houſe of Guiſe.[g]

Elizabeth's propenſity to caution and economy was, though with ſome difficulty,[h] overcome by theſe powerful motives; and ſhe prepared herſelf to ſupport, by arms and money, the declining affairs of the congregation in Scotland. She equipped a fleet, which conſiſted of thirteen ſhips of war; and, giving the command of it to Winter, ſhe ſent it to the Frith of Forth: ſhe appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties; and ſhe aſſembled at Berwick an army of eight thouſand men under the command of lord Grey, warden of the eaſt and middle marches. Though the court of France, ſenſible of the danger, offered her to make immediate reſtitution of Calais, provided ſhe would not interpoſe in the affairs of Scotland, ſhe reſolutely replied that ſhe never would put an inconſiderable fiſhing town in competition with the ſafety of her dominions;[i] and ſhe ſtill continued her preparations. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the congregation, which was to laſt during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and ſhe promiſed never to deſiſt till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland.[k] And, having thus taken all proper meaſures for ſucceſs, and received from the Scots ſix hoſtages for the performance of articles, ſhe ordered her fleet and army to begin their operations.

SETTLEMENT OF SCOTLAND. 1560.

THE appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Frith, on the fifteenth of January, diſconcerted the French army, who were at that time ravaging the county of Fife; and obliged them to make a circuit by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, where they prepared themſelves for defence. The Engliſh army, reinforced by five thouſand Scots,[l] ſat down before the place; and, after two ſkirmiſhes, in the former of which the Engliſh had the advantage,

in the latter the French, they began to batter the town; and, though repulſed with conſiderable loſs in a raſh and ill-conducted aſſault, they reduced the garriſon to great difficulties. Their diſtreſs was augmented by two events; the diſperſion by a ſtorm of d'Elbeuf's fleet,[m] which carried a conſiderable army on board, and the death of the queen regent, who expired about this time in the caſtle of Edinburgh; a woman endowed with all the capacity which ſhone forth in her family, but poſſeſſed of much more virtue and moderation than appeared in the conduct of the other branches of it. The French, who found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt for want of proviſions, and who ſaw that the Engliſh were continually reinforced by freſh numbers, were obliged to capitulate: and the biſhop of Valence and count Randan, plenipotentiaries from France, ſigned a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had ſent thither for that purpoſe. It was there ſtipulated that the French ſhould inſtantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England, or aſſuming the title of that kingdom; that farther ſatisfaction for the injury already done in that particular ſhould be granted Elizabeth; and the commiſſioners ſhould meet to ſettle this point, or, if they could not agree, that the king of Spain ſhould be umpire between the crowns. Beſides theſe ſtipulations, which regarded England, ſome conceſſions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences; that none but natives ſhould enjoy any office in Scotland; that the ſtates ſhould name twenty-four perſons, of whom the queen of Scots ſhould chooſe ſeven, and the ſtates five; and in the hands of theſe twelve ſhould the whole adminiſtration be placed during their queen's abſence; and that Mary ſhould neither make peace nor war without conſent of the ſtates.[n] In order to haſten the execution of this important

treaty, Elizabeth ſent ſhips, by which the French forces were tranſported into their own country.

Thus Europe ſaw, in the firſt tranſaction of this reign, the genius and capacity of the queen and her miniſters. She diſcerned at a diſtance the danger which threatened her, and inſtantly took vigorous meaſures to prevent it. Making all poſſible advantages of her ſituation, ſhe proceeded with celerity to a deciſion; and was not diverted by any offers, negociations, or remonſtrances, of the French court. She ſtopped not till ſhe had brought the matter to a final iſſue; and had converted that very power, to which her enemies truſted for her deſtruction, into her firmeſt ſupport and ſecurity. By exacting no improper conditions from the Scottiſh malcontents, even during their greateſt diſtreſſes, ſhe eſtabliſhed an entire confidence with them; and, having cemented the union by all the ties of gratitude, intereſt, and religion, ſhe now poſſeſſed an influence over them beyond what remained even with their native ſovereign. The regard, which ſhe acquired by this dexterous and ſpirited conduct, gave her every where, abroad as well as at home, more authority than had attended her ſiſter, though ſupported by all the power of the Spaniſh monarchy.°

The ſubſequent meaſures of the Scottiſh reformers tended ſtill more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely maſters of the kingdom, they made no farther ceremony or ſcruple in fully effecting their purpoſe. In the treaty of Edinburgh it had been agreed that a parliament or convention ſhould ſoon be aſſembled; and the leaders of the congregation, not waiting till the queen of Scots ſhould ratify that treaty, thought themſelves fully entitled, without the ſovereign's authority, immediately to ſummon a parliament. The reformers preſented a petition to this aſſembly, in which they were not contented with deſiring the eſtabliſhment of their doctrine; they alſo applied for

the puniſhment of the catholics, whom they called vaſſals to the Roman harlot; and they aſſerted that, among all the rabble of the clergy (ſuch is their expreſſion), there was not one lawful miniſter; but that they were, all of them, thieves and murderers; yea, rebels and traitors to civil authority, and therefore unworthy to be ſuffered in any reformed commonwealth.[p] The parliament ſeem to have been actuated by the ſame ſpirit of rage and perſecution. After ratifying a confeſſion of faith agreeable to the new doctrines, they paſſed a ſtatute againſt the maſs; and not only aboliſhed it in all the churches, but enacted that whoever, any where, either officiated in it or was preſent at it, ſhould be chaſtiſed, for the firſt offence, with confiſcation of goods and corporal puniſhment, at the diſcretion of the magiſtrate; for the ſecond, with baniſhment; and, for the third, with loſs of life.[q] A law was alſo voted for aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in Scotland: the preſbyterian form of diſcipline was ſettled, leaving only at firſt ſome ſhadow of authority to certain eccleſiaſtics, whom they called ſuperintendants. The prelates of the ancient faith appeared, in order to complain of great injuſtice committed on them by the invaſion of their property, but the parliament took no notice of them; till at laſt theſe eccleſiaſtics, tired with fruitleſs attendance, departed the town. They were then cited to appear; and, as nobody preſented himſelf, it was voted by the parliament that the eccleſiaſtics were entirely ſatisfied, and found no reaſon of complaint.

Sir James Sandilands, prior of St. John, was ſent over to France to obtain the ratification of theſe acts: but was very ill received by Mary, who denied the validity of a parliament ſummoned without the royal conſent; and ſhe refuſed her ſanction to thoſe ſtatutes. But the proteſtants gave themſelves little concern about their queen's refuſal. They immediately put the ſtatutes in execution: they aboliſhed the maſs; they ſettled their

miniſters; they committed every where furious devaſtations on the monaſteries, and even on the churches, which they thought profaned by idolatry; and, deeming the property of the clergy lawful prize, they took poſſeſſion, without ceremony, of the far greater part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues. Their new preachers, who had authority ſufficient to incite them to war and inſurrection, could not refrain their rapacity; and, fanaticiſm concurring with avarice, an incurable wound was given to the papal authority in that country. The proteſtant nobility and gentry, united by the conſciouſneſs of ſuch unpardonable guilt, alarmed for their new poſſeſſions, well acquainted with the imperious character of the houſe of Guiſe, ſaw no ſafety for themſelves but in the protection of England; and they diſpatched Morton, Glencairne, and Lidington, to expreſs their ſincere gratitude to the queen for her paſt favours, and repreſent to her the neceſſity of continuing them.

FRENCH AFFAIRS.

ELIZABETH, on her part, had equal reaſon to maintain a union with the Scottiſh proteſtants; and ſoon found that the houſe of Guiſe, notwithſtanding their former diſappointments, had not laid aſide the deſign of conteſting her title, and ſubverting her authority. Francis and Mary, whoſe counſels were wholly directed by them, refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and ſhewed no diſpoſition to give her any ſatisfaction for that mortal affront which they had put upon her by their openly aſſuming the title and arms of England. She was ſenſible of the danger attending ſuch pretenſions; and it was with pleaſure ſhe heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the French government, and of the oppoſition which had ariſen againſt the meaſures of the duke of Guiſe. That ambitious prince, ſupported

by his four brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior, men no leſs ambitious than himſelf, had engroſſed all the authority of the crown; and, as he was poſſeſſed of every quality which could command the eſteem or ſeduce the affections of men, there appeared no end of his acquiſitions and pretenſions. The conſtable, Montmorency, who had long balanced his credit, was deprived of all power: the princes of the blood, the king of Navarre, and his brother the prince of Conde, were entirely excluded from offices and favour: the queen mother herſelf, Catherine de Medicis, found her influence every day declining: and, as Francis, a young prince, infirm both in mind and body, was wholly governed by his conſort, who knew no law but the pleaſure of her uncles, men deſpaired of ever obtaining freedom from the dominion of that aſpiring family. It was the conteſts of religion which firſt inſpired the French with courage openly to oppoſe their unlimited authority.

The theological diſputes, firſt ſtarted in the north of Germany, next in Switzerland, countries at that time wholly illiterate, had long ago penetrated into France; and, as they were aſſiſted by the general diſcontent againſt the court and church of Rome, and by the zealous ſpirit of the age, the proſelytes to the new religion were ſecretly increaſing in every province. Henry II, in imitation of his father Francis, had oppoſed the progreſs of the reformers; and, though a prince addicted to pleaſure and ſociety, he was tranſported by a vehemence, as well as bigotry, which had little place in the conduct of his predeceſſor. Rigorous puniſhments had been inflicted on the moſt eminent of the proteſtant party; and a point of honour ſeemed to have ariſen, whether the one ſect could exerciſe, or the other ſuffer, moſt barbarity. The death of Henry put ſome ſtop to the perſecutions; and the people, who had admired the conſtancy of

the new preachers, now heard with favour their doctrines and arguments. But the cardinal of Lorraine, as well as his brothers, who were poſſeſſed of the legal authority, thought it their intereſt to ſupport the eſtabliſhed religion; and, when they revived the execution of the penal ſtatutes, they neceſſarily drove the malcontent princes and nobles to embrace the protection of the new religion. The king of Navarre, a man of mild diſpoſitions, but of a weak character, and the prince of Conde, who poſſeſſed many great qualities, having declared themſelves in favour of the proteſtants, that ſect acquired new force from their countenance; and the admiral, Coligni, with his brother Andelot, no longer ſcrupled to make open profeſſion of their communion. The integrity of the admiral, who was believed ſincere in his attachment to the new doctrine, and his great reputation both for valour and conduct, for the arts of peace as well as of war, brought credit to the reformers; and, after a fruſtrated attempt of the malcontents to ſeize the king's perſon at Amboiſe, of which Elizabeth had probably ſome intelligence,[r] every place was full of diſtraction, and matters haſtened to an open rupture between the parties. But the houſe of Guiſe, though theſe factions had obliged them to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cauſe of Elizabeth's ſucceſs, were determined not to relinquiſh their authority in France, or yield to the violence of their enemies. They found an opportunity of ſeizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde; they threw the former into priſon; they obtained a ſentence of death againſt the latter; and they were proceeding to put the ſentence into execution, when the king's ſudden death ſaved the noble priſoner, and interrupted the proſperity of the duke of Guiſe. The queen mother was appointed regent to her ſon Charles IX, now in his minority; the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the ſentence againſt Conde was annulled; the conſtable

was recalled to court: and the family of Guiſe, though they ſtill enjoyed great offices and great power, found a counterpoiſe to their authority.

Elizabeth was determined to make advantage of theſe events againſt the queen of Scots, whom ſhe ſtill regarded as a dangerous rival. She ſaw herſelf freed from the perils attending a union of Scotland with France, and from the pretenſions of ſo powerful a prince as Francis; but ſhe conſidered, at the ſame time, that the Engliſh catholics, who were numerous, and who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, would now adhere to that princeſs with more zealous attachment when they ſaw that her ſucceſſion no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom, and was rather attended with the advantage of effecting an entire union with Scotland. She gave orders, therefore, to her ambaſſador, Throgmorton, a vigilant and able miniſter, to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. But, though Mary had deſiſted, after her huſband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, ſhe ſtill declined gratifying Elizabeth in this momentous article; and, being ſwayed by the ambitious ſuggeſtions of her uncles, ſhe refuſed to make any formal renunciation of her pretenſions.

Meanwhile, the queen mother of France, who imputed to Mary all the mortifications which ſhe had met with during Francis's lifetime, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding her abode in France diſagreeable, began to think of returning to her native country. Lord James, who had been ſent in deputation from the ſtates to invite her over, ſeconded theſe intentions; and ſhe applied to Elizabeth, by D'Oiſel, for a ſafe conduct, in caſe ſhe ſhould be obliged to paſs through England:[s] but ſhe received for anſwer that, till ſhe had given ſatisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, ſhe could

expect no favour from a perſon whom ſhe had ſo much injured. This denial excited her indignation; and ſhe made no ſcruple of expreſſing her ſentiments to Throgmorton, when he reiterated his applications to gratify his miſtreſs in a demand which he repreſented as ſo reaſonable. Having cleared the room of her attendants, ſhe ſaid to him, 'How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may tranſport me, I cannot tell: however, I am reſolved not to have ſo many witneſſes of my infirmity as your miſtreſs had at her audience of my ambaſſador D'Oiſel. There is nothing diſturbs me ſo much as the having aſked, with ſo much importunity, a favour which it was of no conſequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country without her leave; as I came to France in ſpite of all the oppoſition of her brother, king Edward: neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was deſirous rather to make an experiment of your miſtreſs's friendſhip than of the aſſiſtance of any other perſon. I have often heard you ſay that a good correſpondence between her and myſelf would conduce much to the ſecurity and happineſs of both our kingdoms: were ſhe well convinced of this truth, ſhe would hardly have denied me ſo ſmall a requeſt. But perhaps ſhe bears a better inclination to my rebellious ſubjects than to me, their ſovereign, her equal in royal dignity, her near relation, and the undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Beſides her friendſhip, I aſk nothing at her hands; I neither trouble her, nor concern myſelf in the affairs of her ſtate: not that I am ignorant that there are now in England a great many malcontents, who are no friends to the preſent eſtabliſhment. She is pleaſed to upbraid me as a perſon little experienced in the world: I freely own it; but age will cure that defect. However, I am already old enough to acquit myſelf honeſtly and courteouſly to my friends and relations, and to en-

courage no reports of your miſtreſs which would miſbecome a queen and her kinſwoman. I would alſo ſay, by her leave, that I am a queen as well as ſhe, and not altogether friendleſs; and perhaps I have as great a ſoul too; ſo that methinks we ſhould be upon a level in our treatment of each other. As ſoon as I have conſulted the ſtates of my kingdom, I ſhall be ready to give her a reaſonable anſwer; and I am the more intent on my journey, in order to make the quicker diſpatch in this affair. But ſhe, it ſeems, intends to ſtop my journey; ſo that either ſhe will not let me give her ſatisfaction, or is reſolved not to be ſatisfied; perhaps on purpoſe to keep up the diſagreement between us. She has often reproached me with my being young; and I muſt be very young indeed, and as ill adviſed, to treat of matters of ſuch great concern and importance without the advice of my parliament. I have not been wanting in all friendly offices to her; but ſhe diſbelieves or overlooks them. I could heartily wiſh that I were as nearly allied to her in affection as in blood;' for that, indeed, would be a moſt valuable alliance.'

MARY'S ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND. 1561.

Such a ſpirited reply, notwithſtanding the obliging terms interſperſed in it, was but ill fitted to conciliate friendſhip between theſe rival princeſſes, or cure thoſe mutual jealouſies which had already taken place. Elizabeth equipped a fleet, on pretence of purſuing pirates, but probably with an intention of intercepting the queen of Scots in her return homewards. Mary embarked at Calais on the nineteenth of Auguſt, and, paſſing the Engliſh fleet in a fog, arrived ſafely at Leith, attended by her three uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers. This change of abode and ſituation was very little

agreeable to that princeſs. Beſides her natural prepoſſeſſions in favour of a country in which ſhe had been educated from her earlieſt infancy, and where ſhe had borne ſo high a rank, ſhe could not forbear both regretting the ſociety of that people, ſo celebrated for their humane diſpoſition and their reſpectful attachment to their ſovereign, and reflecting on the diſparity of the ſcene which lay before her. It is ſaid that, after ſhe was embarked at Calais, ſhe kept her eyes fixed on the coaſt of France, and never turned them from that beloved object till darkneſs fell, and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be ſpread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot that, if in the morning the land were ſtill in ſight, he ſhould awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country in which all her affections were centered. The weather proved calm, ſo that the ſhip made little way in the night-time; and Mary had once more an opportunity of ſeeing the French coaſt. She ſat up on her couch, and, ſtill looking towards the land,[n] often repeated theſe words; 'Farewell, France, farewell: I ſhall never ſee thee more.' The firſt aſpect, however, of things in Scotland was more favourable, if not to her pleaſure and happineſs, at leaſt to her repoſe and ſecurity, than ſhe had reaſon to apprehend. No ſooner did the French gallies appear off Leith than people of all ranks, who had long expected their arrival, flocked towards the ſhore with an earneſt impatience to behold and receive their young ſovereign. Some were led by duty, ſome by intereſt, ſome by curioſity; and all combined to expreſs their attachment to her, and to inſinuate themſelves into her confidence, on the commencement of her adminiſtration. She had now reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth and amiable beauty of her perſon were farther recommended by the affability of her addreſs, the politeneſs of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Well accompliſhed in

all the ſuperficial but engaging graces of a court, ſhe afforded, when better known, ſtill more promiſing indications of her character; and men prognoſticated both humanity from her ſoft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taſte in all the refined arts of muſic, eloquence, and poetry." And, as the Scots had long been deprived of the preſence of their ſovereign, whom they once deſpaired ever more to behold among them, her arrival ſeemed to give univerſal ſatisfaction; and nothing appeared about the court but ſymptoms of affection, joy, and feſtivity.

The firſt meaſures which Mary embraced confirmed all the prepoſſeſſions entertained in her favour. She followed the advice given her in France by D'Oiſel and the biſhop of Amiens, as well as her uncles; and ſhe beſtowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had greateſt influence over the people, and who, ſhe found, were alone able to ſupport her government. Her brother, lord James, whom ſhe ſoon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and after him Lidington, ſecretary of ſtate, a man of great ſagacity, had a principal ſhare in her confidence. By the vigour of theſe men's meaſures ſhe endeavoured to eſtabliſh order and juſtice in a country divided by public factions and private feuds; and that fierce, intractable people, unacquainted with laws and obedience, ſeemed, for a time, to ſubmit peaceably to her gentle and prudent adminiſtration.

BIGOTRY OF THE SCOTCH REFORMERS.

But there was one circumſtance which blaſted all theſe promiſing appearances, and bereaved Mary of that general favour which her agreeable manners and judicious deportment gave her juſt reaſon to expect. She was ſtill a papiſt; and, though ſhe

publiſhed, ſoon after her arrival, a proclamation, enjoining every one to ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a perſon polluted with ſo great an abomination, nor lay aſide their jealouſies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty ſhe could obtain permiſſion for ſaying maſs in her own chapel; and, had not the people apprehended that, if ſhe had here met with a refuſal, ſhe would inſtantly have returned to France, the zealots never would have granted her even that ſmall indulgence. The cry was, 'Shall we ſuffer that idol to be again erected within the realm?' It was aſſerted in the pulpit that one maſs was more terrible than ten thouſand armed men [x] landed to invade the kingdom. Lord Lindeſey, and the gentlemen of Fife, exclaimed 'that the idolator ſhould die the death;' ſuch was their expreſſion. One that carried tapers, for the ceremony of that worſhip, was attacked and inſulted in the court of the palace. And, if lord James, and ſome popular leaders, had not interpoſed, the moſt dangerous uproar was juſtly apprehended from the ungoverned fury of the multitude.[y] The uſual prayers in the churches were to this purpoſe: that God would turn the queen's heart, which was obſtinate againſt him and his truth; or, if his holy will be otherwiſe, that he would ſtrengthen the hearts and hands of the elect [z] ſtoutly to oppoſe the rage of all tyrants. Nay, it was openly called in queſtion whether that princeſs, being an idolatreſs, was entitled to any authority, even in civil matters? [a]

The helpleſs queen was every moment expoſed to contumely, which ſhe bore with benignity and patience. Soon after her arrival ſhe dined in the caſtle of Edinburgh; and it was there contrived that a boy, ſix years of age, ſhould be let down from the roof, and ſhould preſent her with a bible, a pſalter, and the keys of the caſtle. Leſt ſhe ſhould be at a loſs to underſtand

this inſult on her as a papiſt, all the decorations expreſſed the burning of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and other puniſhments inflicted by God upon idolatry.[b] The town council of Edinburgh had the aſſurance, from their own authority, to iſſue a proclamation, baniſhing from their diſtrict 'all the wicked rabble of antichriſt, the pope, ſuch as prieſts, monks, friars, together with adulterers[c] and fornicators.' And, becauſe the privy council ſuſpended the magiſtrates for their inſolence, the paſſionate hiſtorians[d] of that age have inferred that the queen was engaged, by a ſympathy of manners, to take adulterers and fornicators under her protection. It appears probable that the magiſtrates were afterwards reinſtated in their office, and that their proclamation was confirmed.[e]

But all the inſolence of the people was inconſiderable in compariſon of that which was exerciſed by the clergy and the preachers, who took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princeſs. The aſſembly of the church framed an addreſs, in which, after telling her that her maſs was a baſtard ſervice of God, the fountain of all impiety, and the ſource of every evil which abounded in the realm, they expreſſed their hopes that ſhe would ere this time have preferred truth to her own preconceived opinion, and have renounced her religion, which, they aſſured her, was nothing but abomination and vanity. They ſaid that the preſent abuſes of government were ſo enormous, that, if a ſpeedy remedy were not provided, God would not fail, in his anger, to ſtrike the head and the tail, the diſobedient prince and ſinful people. They required that ſevere puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on adulterers and fornicators. And they concluded with demanding for themſelves ſome addition both of power and property.[f]

The ringleader in all theſe inſults on majeſty was John Knox; who poſſeſſed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even

MARY Q. OF SCOTS REPROVED BY KNOX

in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious uſage of his ſovereign. His uſual appellation for the queen was Jezebel; and, though ſhe endeavoured, by the moſt gracious condeſcenſion, to win his favour, all her inſinuations could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. She promiſed him acceſs to her whenever he demanded it; and ſhe even deſired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before the whole people. But he plainly told her that he had a public miniſtry intruſted to him; that, if ſhe would come to church, ſhe ſhould there hear the goſpel of truth; and that it was not his buſineſs to apply to every individual, nor had he leiſure for that occupation.[g] The political principles of the man, which he communicated to his brethren, were as full of ſedition as his theological were of rage and bigotry. Though he once condeſcended ſo far as to tell the queen that he would ſubmit to her in the ſame manner as Paul did to Nero,[h] he remained not long in this dutiful ſtrain. He ſaid to her that 'Samuel feared not to ſlay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom king Saul had ſaved: neither ſpared Elias Jezebel's falſe prophets and Baal's prieſts, though king Ahab was preſent. Phinehas,' added he, 'was no magiſtrate; yet feared he not to ſtrike Coſbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. And ſo, madam, your grace may ſee that others than chief magiſtrates may lawfully inflict puniſhment on ſuch crimes [i] as are condemned by the law of God.' Knox had formerly, during the reign of Mary of England, written a book againſt female ſucceſſion to the crown: the title of it is, 'The firſt blaſt of the trumpet againſt the monſtrous regimen of women.' He was too proud either to recant the tenets of this book, or even to apologize for them; and his conduct ſhewed that he thought no more civility than loyalty due to any of the female ſex.

The whole life of Mary was, from the demeanour of theſe men, filled with bitterneſs and ſorrow. This ruſtic apoſtle ſcruples not, in his hiſtory, to inform us that he once treated her with ſuch ſeverity, that ſhe loſt all command of temper, and diſſolved in tears before him: yet, ſo far from being moved with youth and beauty, and royal dignity reduced to that condition, he perſevered in his inſolent reproofs; and, when he relates this incident, he diſcovers a viſible pride and ſatisfaction in his own conduct.[k] The pulpits had become mere ſcenes of railing againſt the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feaſting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their neceſſary attendant.[l] Some ornaments, which the ladies at that time wore upon their petticoats, excited mightily the indignation of the preachers; and they affirmed that ſuch vanity would provoke God's vengeance, not only againſt theſe fooliſh women, but againſt the whole realm.[m]

Mary, whoſe age, condition, and education, invited her to liberty and cheerfulneſs, was curbed in all amuſements by the abſurd ſeverity of theſe reformers; and ſhe found every moment reaſon to regret her leaving that country from whoſe manners ſhe had, in her early youth, received the firſt impreſſions.[n] Her two uncles, the duke of Aumale and the grand prior, with the other French nobility, ſoon took leave of her: the marquis of Elbeuf remained ſome time longer: but, after his departure, ſhe was left to the ſociety of her own ſubjects; men unacquainted with the pleaſures of converſation, ignorant of arts and civility, and corrupted, beyond their uſual ruſticity, by a diſmal fanaticiſm, which rendered them incapable of all humanity or improvement. Though Mary had made no attempt to reſtore the ancient religion, her popery was a ſufficient crime: though her behaviour was hitherto irreproachable, and her manners ſweet and engaging, her gaiety and eaſe were interpreted as ſigns of

diſſolute vanity. And to the harſh and prepoſterous uſage which this princeſs met with, may, in part, be aſcribed thoſe errors of her ſubſequent conduct which ſeemed ſo little of a piece with the general tenor of her character.

There happened to the marquis of Elbeuf, before his departure, an adventure which, though frivolous, might enable him to give Mary's friends in France a melancholy idea of her ſituation. This nobleman, with the earl of Bothwel, and ſome other young courtiers, had been engaged, after a debauch, to pay a viſit to a woman called Aliſon Craig, who was known to be liberal of her favours; and, becauſe they were denied admittance, they broke the windows, thruſt open the door, and committed ſome diſorders in ſearching for the damſel. It happened that the aſſembly of the church was ſitting at that time, and they immediately took the matter under their cognizance. In conjunction with ſeveral of the nobility, they preſented an addreſs to the queen, which was introduced with this awful prelude; 'To the queen's majeſty, and to her ſecret and great council, her grace's faithful and obedient ſubjects, the profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus's holy evangil, wiſh the ſpirit of righteous judgment.' The tenor of the petition was, that the fear of God, the duty which they owed her grace, and the terrible threatenings denounced by God againſt every city or country where horrible crimes were openly committed, compelled them to demand the ſevere puniſhment of ſuch as had done what in them lay to kindle the wrath of God againſt the whole realm; that the iniquity of which they complained was ſo heinous and ſo horrible, that they ſhould eſteem themſelves accomplices in it if they had been engaged by worldly fear, or ſervile complaiſance, to paſs it over in ſilence, or bury it in oblivion; that, as they owed her grace obedience in the adminiſtration of juſtice, ſo were they entitled to require of her, in return, the ſharp and condign pu-

niſhment of this enormity, which, they repeated it, might draw down the vengeance of God on the whole kingdom; and that they maintained it to be her duty to lay aſide all private affections towards the actors in ſo heinous a crime and ſo enormous a villany, and without delay bring them to trial, and inflict the ſevereſt penalties upon them. The queen gave a gracious reception to this peremptory addreſs; but, becauſe ſhe probably thought that breaking the windows of a brothel merited not ſuch ſevere reprehenſion, ſhe only replied that her uncle was a ſtranger, and that he was attended by a young company; but ſhe would put ſuch order to him, and to all others, that her ſubjects ſhould henceforth have no reaſon to complain. Her paſſing over this incident ſo ſlightly was the ſource of great diſcontent, and was regarded as a proof of the moſt profligate manners.[o] It is not to be omitted that Aliſon Craig, the cauſe of all the uproar, was known to entertain a commerce with the earl of Arran, who, on account of his great zeal for the reformation, was, without ſcruple, indulged in that enormity.[p]

Some of the populace of Edinburgh broke into the queen's chapel during her abſence, and committed outrages; for which two of them were indicted, and it was intended to bring them to a trial. Knox wrote circular letters to the moſt conſiderable zealots of the party, and charged them to appear in town, and protect their brethren. The holy ſacraments, he there ſaid, are abuſed by profane papiſts; the maſs has been ſaid, and, in worſhipping that idol, the prieſts have omitted no ceremony, not even the conjuring of their accurſed water, that had ever been practiſed in the time of the greateſt blindneſs. Theſe violent meaſures for oppoſing juſtice were little ſhort of rebellion; and Knox was ſummoned before the council to anſwer for his offence. The courage of the man was equal to his inſolence. He ſcrupled not to tell the queen that the peſtilent papiſts, who had

inflamed her againſt theſe holy men, were the ſons of the devil; and muſt therefore obey the directions of the father, who had been a liar and a manſlayer from the beginning. The matter ended with a full acquittal of Knox.[q] Randolf, the Engliſh ambaſſador in Scotland, had reaſon to write to Cecil, ſpeaking of the Scottiſh nation; 'I think marvellouſly of the wiſdom of God, that gave this unruly, inconſtant, and cumberſome, people no more power nor ſubſtance;[r] for they would otherwiſe run wild.'

We have related theſe incidents at greater length than the neceſſity of our ſubject may ſeem to require: but even trivial circumſtances, which ſhew the manners of the age, are often more inſtructive, as well as entertaining, than the great tranſactions of wars and negociations, which are nearly ſimilar in all periods and in all countries of the world.

The reformed clergy of Scotland had, at that time, a very natural reaſon for their ill humour; namely, the poverty, or rather beggary, to which they were reduced. The nobility and gentry had at firſt laid their hands on all the property of the regular clergy, without making any proviſion for the friars and nuns, whom they turned out of their poſſeſſions. The ſecular clergy of the catholic communion, though they loſt all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, ſtill held ſome of the temporalities of their benefices; and either became laymen themſelves, and converted them into private property, or made conveyance of them at low prices to the nobility, who thus enriched themſelves by the plunder of the church. The new teachers had hitherto ſubſiſted chiefly by the voluntary oblations of the faithful; and in a poor country, divided in religious ſentiments, this eſtabliſhment was regarded as very ſcanty and very precarious. Repeated applications were made for a legal ſettlement to the preachers; and, though almoſt every thing in the kingdom was governed by their zeal and caprice, it was with difficulty that their requeſt was at laſt

complied with. The fanatical ſpirit which they indulged, and their induſtry in decrying the principles and practices of the Romiſh communion, which placed ſuch merit in enriching the clergy, proved now a very ſenſible obſtacle to their acquiſitions. The convention, however, paſſed a vote,[s] by which they divided all the eccleſiaſtical benefices into twenty-one ſhares: they aſſigned fourteen to the ancient poſſeſſors; of the remaining ſeven they granted three to the crown; and, if that were found to anſwer the public expenſes, they beſtowed the overplus on the reformed miniſters. The queen was empowered to levy all the ſeven; and it was ordained that ſhe ſhould afterwards pay to the clergy what ſhould be judged to ſuffice for their maintenance. The neceſſities of the crown, the rapacity of the courtiers, and the ſmall affection which Mary bore to the proteſtant eccleſiaſtics, rendered their revenues contemptible as well as uncertain; and the preachers, finding that they could not rival the gentry, or even the middling rank of men, in opulence and plenty, were neceſſitated to betake themſelves to other expedients for ſupporting their authority. They affected a furious zeal for religion, moroſe manners, a vulgar and familiar, yet myſterious cant; and, though the liberality of ſubſequent princes put them afterwards on a better footing with regard to revenue, and thereby corrected in ſome degree thoſe bad habits, it muſt be confeſſed that, while many other advantages attend preſbyterian government, theſe inconveniences are not eaſily ſeparated from the genius of that eccleſiaſtical polity.

The queen of Scots, deſtitute of all force, poſſeſſing a narrow revenue, ſurrounded with a factious turbulent nobility, a bigotted people, and inſolent eccleſiaſtics, ſoon found that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preſerve a good correſpondence with Elizabeth,[t] who, by former connexions and ſervices, had acquired ſuch authority over all theſe ranks of men.

Soon after her arrival in Scotland ſecretary Lidington was ſent to London, in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and expreſs her deſire of friendſhip and a good correſpondence; and he received a commiſſion from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as a means of cementing this friendſhip, that Mary ſhould, by act of parliament or by proclamation (for the difference between theſe ſecurities was not then deemed very conſiderable), be declared ſucceſſor to the crown. No requeſt could be more unreaſonable, or made at a more improper juncture. The queen replied, that Mary had once diſcovered her intention not to wait for the ſucceſſion, but had openly, without ceremony or reſerve, aſſumed the title of queen of England, and had pretended a ſuperior right to her throne and kingdom: that, though her ambaſſadors, and thoſe of her huſband the French king, had ſigned a treaty in which they renounced that claim, and promiſed ſatisfaction for ſo great an indignity, ſhe was ſo intoxicated with this imaginary right, that ſhe had rejected the moſt earneſt ſolicitations, and even, as ſome endeavoured to perſuade her, had incurred ſome danger in croſſing the ſeas rather than ratify that equitable treaty: that her partiſans every where had ſtill the aſſurance to inſiſt on her title, and had preſumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate: that, while affairs were on this footing; while a claim thus openly made, ſo far from being openly renounced, was only ſuſpended till a more favourable opportunity; it would, in her, be the moſt egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown by declaring her the ſucceſſor: that no expedient could be worſe imagined for cementing friendſhip than ſuch a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good will to their ſucceſſors, even though their own children; much more when the connexion was leſs intimate, and when ſuch cauſe of diſguſt and jealouſy had already been

given, and indeed was ſtill continued, on the part of Mary: that, though ſhe was willing, from the amity which ſhe bore her kinſwoman, to aſcribe her former pretenſions to the advice of others, by whoſe direction ſhe was then governed, her preſent refuſal to relinquiſh them could proceed only from her own prepoſſeſſions, and was a proof that ſhe ſtill harboured ſome dangerous deſigns againſt her: that it was the nature of all men to be diſguſted with the preſent, to entertain flattering views of futurity, to think their ſervices ill rewarded, to expect a better recompenſe from the ſucceſſor; and ſhe ſhould eſteem herſelf ſcarcely half a ſovereign over the Engliſh if they ſaw her declare her heir, and arm her rival with authority againſt her own repoſe and ſafety: that ſhe knew the inconſtant nature of the people; ſhe was acquainted with the preſent diviſions in religion; ſhe was not ignorant that the ſame party, which expected greater favour during the reign of Mary, did alſo imagine that the title of that princeſs was ſuperior to her own: that, for her part, whatever claims were advanced, ſhe was determined to live and die queen of England; and, after her death, it was the buſineſs of others to examine who had the beſt pretenſions, either by the laws or by the right of blood, to the ſucceſſion: that ſhe hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found ſolid; and, conſidering the injury which ſhe herſelf had received, it was ſufficient indulgence if ſhe promiſed, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any reſpect, weaken or invalidate it: and that Mary, if her title were really preferable (a point which, for her own part, ſhe had never inquired into), poſſeſſed all advantages above her rivals; who, deſtitute both of preſent power, and of all ſupport by friends, would only expoſe themſelves to inevitable ruin by advancing any weak, or even doubtful, pretenſions.[u]

Theſe views of the queen were ſo prudent and judicious, that there was no likelihood of her ever departing from them: but, that ſhe might put the matter to a fuller proof, ſhe offered to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, ſo as to leave no ſuſpicion of their excluding Mary's right of ſucceſſion;[w] and in this form ſhe again required her to ratify that treaty. Matters at laſt came to this iſſue, that Mary agreed to the propoſal, and offered to renounce all preſent pretenſions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the ſucceſſor.[x] But ſuch was the jealous character of this latter princeſs, that ſhe never would conſent to ſtrengthen the intereſt and authority of any claimant, by fixing the ſucceſſion; much leſs would ſhe make this conceſſion in favour of a rival queen, who poſſeſſed ſuch plauſible pretenſions for the preſent, and who, though ſhe might verbally renounce them, could eaſily reſume her claim on the firſt opportunity. Mary's propoſal, however, bore ſo ſpecious an appearance of equity and juſtice, that Elizabeth, ſenſible that reaſon would, by ſuperficial thinkers, be deemed to lie entirely on that ſide, made no more mention of the matter; and, though farther conceſſions were never made by either princeſs, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendſhip with each other.

WISE GOVERNMENT OF ELIZABETH.

The queen obſerved that, even without her interpoſition, Mary was ſufficiently depreſſed by the mutinous ſpirit of her own ſubjects; and, inſtead of giving Scotland, for the preſent, any inquietude or diſturbance, ſhe employed herſelf, more uſefully and laudably, in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happineſs of her people. She made ſome progreſs in paying thoſe great debts which lay upon the crown;

ſhe regulated the coin, which had been much debaſed by her predeceſſors; ſhe furniſhed her arſenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and braſs cannon; fortified her frontiers on the ſide of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and ſo much increaſed the ſhipping of her kingdom, both by building veſſels of force herſelf, and ſuggeſting like undertakings to the merchants, that ſhe was juſtly ſtyled the reſtorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern ſeas.[y] The natural frugality of her temper, ſo far from incapacitating her from theſe great enterpriſes, only enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and ſucceſs; and all the world ſaw in her conduct the happy effects of a vigorous perſeverance in judicious and well-concerted projects.

It is eaſy to imagine that ſo great a princeſs, who enjoyed ſuch ſingular felicity and renown, would receive propoſals of marriage from every one that had any likelihood of ſucceeding; and, though ſhe had made ſome public declarations in favour of a ſingle life, few believed that ſhe would perſevere for ever in that reſolution. The archduke Charles, ſecond ſon of the emperor,[z] as well as Caſimir, ſon of the elector palatine, made applications to her; and, as this latter prince profeſſed the reformed religion, he thought himſelf on that account better entitled to ſucceed in his addreſſes. Eric king of Sweden, and Adolph duke of Holſtein, were encouraged, by the ſame views, to become ſuitors: and the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the ſtates of that kingdom, recommended to her as a ſuitable marriage. Even ſome of her own ſubjects, though they did not openly declare their pretenſions, entertained hopes of

ſucceſs. The earl of Arundel, a perſon declining in years, but deſcended from an ancient and noble family, as well as poſſeſſed of great riches, flattered himſelf with this proſpect; as did alſo ſir William Pickering, a man much eſteemed for his perſonal merit. But the perſon moſt likely to ſucceed, was a younger ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who, by means of his exterior qualities, joined to addreſs and flattery, had become, in a manner, her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her counſels. The leſs worthy he appeared of this diſtinction, the more was his great favour aſcribed to ſome violent affection, which could thus ſeduce the judgment of this penetrating princeſs; and men long expected that he would obtain the preference above ſo many princes and monarchs. But the queen gave all theſe ſuitors a gentle refuſal, which ſtill encouraged their purſuit; and ſhe thought that ſhe ſhould the better attach them to her intereſts if they were ſtill allowed to entertain hopes of ſucceeding in their pretenſions. It is alſo probable that this policy was not entirely free from a mixture of female coquetry; and that, though ſhe was determined in her own mind never to ſhare her power with any man, ſhe was not diſpleaſed with the courtſhip, ſolicitation, and profeſſions, of love which the deſire of acquiring ſo valuable a prize procured her from all quarters.

What is moſt ſingular in the conduct and character of Elizabeth is, that, though ſhe determined never to have any heir of her own body, ſhe was not only very averſe to fix any ſucceſſor to the crown, but ſeems alſo to have reſolved, as far as it lay in her power, that no one who had pretenſions to the ſucceſſion ſhould ever have any heirs or ſucceſſors. If the excluſion given by the will of Henry VIII to the poſterity of Margaret queen of Scotland was allowed to be valid, the right to the crown devolved on the houſe of Suffolk; and the lady Catharine Gray,

younger ſiſter to the lady Jane, was now the heir of that family. This lady had been married to lord Herbert, ſon of the earl of Pembroke; but, having been divorced from that nobleman, ſhe made a private marriage with the earl of Hertford, ſon of the protector; and her huſband, ſoon after conſummation, travelled into France. In a little time ſhe appeared to be pregnant, which ſo enraged Elizabeth, that ſhe threw her into the tower, and ſummoned Hertford to appear, in order to anſwer for his miſdemeanor. He made no ſcruple of acknowledging the marriage, which, though concluded without the queen's conſent, was entirely ſuitable to both parties; and for this offence he was alſo committed to the tower. Elizabeth's ſeverity ſtopped not here: ſhe iſſued a commiſſion to inquire into the matter; and, as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witneſſes, the commerce between him and his conſort was declared unlawful, and their poſterity illegitimate. They were ſtill detained in cuſtody; but, by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourſe; and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a freſh ſource of vexation to the queen; who made a fine of fifteen thouſand pounds be ſet on Hertford by the ſtar chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and ſevere. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty.[a] This extreme ſeverity muſt be accounted for, either by the unrelenting jealouſy of the queen, who was afraid leſt a pretender to the ſucceſſion ſhould acquire credit by having iſſue; or by her malignity, which, with all her great qualities, made one ingredient in her character, and which led her to envy, in others, thoſe natural pleaſures of love and poſterity of which her own ambition and deſire of dominion made her renounce all proſpect for herſelf.

There happened, about this time, ſome other events in the royal family, where the queen's conduct was more laudable. Arthur Pole, and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and deſcended from the duke of Clarence, together with Anthony Forteſcue, who had married a ſiſter of theſe gentlemen, and ſome other perſons, were brought to their trial for intending to withdraw into France, with a view of ſoliciting ſuccours from the duke of Guiſe, of returning thence into Wales, and of proclaiming Mary queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. They confeſſed the indictment, but aſſerted that they never meant to execute theſe projects during the queen's lifetime; they had only deemed ſuch precautions requiſite in caſe of her demiſe, which ſome pretenders to judicial aſtrology had aſſured them they might with certainty look for before the year expired. They were condemned by the jury, but received a pardon from the queen's clemency.[b]

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ELIZABETH.

STATE OF EUROPE....CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE....HAVRE DE GRACE PUT IN POSSESSION OF THE ENGLISH....A PARLIAMENT....HAVRE LOST....AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND....THE QUEEN OF SCOTS MARRIES THE EARL OF DARNLEY....CONFEDERACY AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS....MURDER OF RIZZIO....A PARLIAMENT....MURDER OF DARNLEY....QUEEN OF SCOTS MARRIES BOTHWEL....INSURRECTIONS IN SCOTLAND....IMPRISONMENT OF MARY....MARY FLIES INTO ENGLAND....CONFERENCES AT YORK AND HAMPTON COURT.

STATE OF EUROPE. 1562.

AFTER the commencement of the religious wars in France, which rendered that flouriſhing kingdom, during the courſe of near forty years, a ſcene of horror and devaſtation, the great rival powers in Europe were Spain and England; and it was not long before an animoſity, firſt political, then perſonal, broke out between the ſovereigns of theſe countries.

Philip II of Spain, though he reached not any enlarged views of policy, was endowed with great induſtry and ſagacity, a remarkable caution in his enterpriſes, an unuſual foreſight in all

his meaſures; and, as he was ever cool, and ſeemingly unmoved by paſſion, and poſſeſſed neither talents nor inclination for war, both his ſubjects and his neighbours had reaſon to expect juſtice, happineſs, and tranquillity, from his adminiſtration. But prejudices had on him as pernicious effects as ever paſſion had on any other monarch; and the ſpirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated, with the fraudulent maxims which governed his counſels, excited the moſt violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the moſt enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into combuſtion.

After Philip had concluded peace at Cateau-Cambreſis, and had remained ſome time in the Netherlands, in order to ſettle the affairs of that country, he embarked for Spain; and, as the gravity of that nation, with their reſpectful obedience to their prince, had appeared more agreeable to his humour than the homely familiar manners and the pertinacious liberty of the Flemings, it was expected that he would, for the future, reſide altogether at Madrid, and would govern all his extenſive dominions by Spaniſh miniſters and Spaniſh counſels. Having met with a violent tempeſt on his voyage, he no ſooner arrived in harbour than he fell on his knees; and, after giving thanks for his deliverance, he vowed that his life, which was thus providentially ſaved, ſhould thenceforth be entirely devoted to the extirpation of hereſy.[c] His ſubſequent conduct correſponded to theſe profeſſions. Finding that the new doctrines had penetrated into Spain, he let looſe the rage of perſecution againſt all who profeſſed them, or were ſuſpected of adhering to them; and, by his violence, he gave new edge even to the uſual cruelty of prieſts and inquiſitors. He threw into priſon Conſtantine Ponce, who had been confeſſor to his father, the emperor Charles; who had attended him during his retreat; and in whoſe arms that great monarch had terminated his life: and, after this eccleſiaſtic

died in confinement, he ſtill ordered him to be tried and condemned for hereſy, and his ſtatue to be committed to the flames. He even deliberated whether he ſhould not exerciſe like ſeverity againſt the memory of his father, who was ſuſpected, during his latter years, to have indulged a propenſity towards the Lutheran principles. In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition: he was preſent, with an inflexible countenance, at the moſt barbarous executions: he iſſued rigorous orders for the proſecution of heretics in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the Low Countries: and, having founded his determined tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, he made it apparent to all his ſubjects that there was no method, except the moſt entire compliance, or moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, to eſcape or elude the ſeverity of his vengeance.

During that extreme animoſity which prevailed between the adherents of the oppoſite religions, the civil magiſtrate, who found it difficult, if not impoſſible, for the ſame laws to govern ſuch enraged adverſaries, was naturally led, by ſpecious rules of prudence, in embracing one party, to declare war againſt the other, and to exterminate, by fire and ſword, thoſe bigots, who, from abhorrence of his religion, had proceeded to an oppoſition of his power, and to a hatred of his perſon. If any prince poſſeſſed ſuch enlarged views as to foreſee that a mutual toleration would in time abate the fury of religious prejudices, he yet met with difficulties in reducing this principle to practice; and might deem the malady too violent to await a remedy which, though certain, muſt neceſſarily be ſlow in its operation. But Philip, though a profound hypocrite, and extremely governed by ſelf-intereſt, ſeems alſo to have been himſelf actuated by an imperious bigotry; and, as he employed great reflection in all his conduct, he could eaſily palliate the gratification of his natural

temper under the colour of wiſdom, and find, in this ſyſtem, no leſs advantage to his foreign than his domeſtic politics. By placing himſelf at the head of the catholic party he converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partiſans of Spaniſh greatneſs; and, by employing the powerful allurement of religion, he ſeduced every where the ſubjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native ſovereign.

The courſe of events, guiding and concurring with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a ſituation diametrically oppoſite; and had raiſed her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the ſupport, of the numerous, though ſtill perſecuted, proteſtants throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, ſhe found, with pleaſure, that the principles of her ſect required not ſuch extreme ſeverity in her domeſtic government as was exerciſed by that monarch; and, having no object but ſelf-preſervation, ſhe united her intereſts in all foreign negociations with thoſe who were every where ſtruggling under oppreſſion, and guarding themſelves againſt ruin and extermination. The more virtuous ſovereign was thus happily thrown into the more favourable cauſe; and fortune, in this inſtance, concurred with policy and nature.

During the lifetime of Henry II of France, and of his ſucceſſor, the force of theſe principles was ſomewhat reſtrained, though not altogether overcome, by motives of a ſuperior intereſt; and the dread of uniting England with the French monarchy engaged Philip to maintain a good correſpondence with Elizabeth. Yet, even during this period, he rejected the garter which ſhe ſent him; he refuſed to ratify the ancient league between the houſe of Burgundy and England;[a] he furniſhed ſhips to tranſport French forces into Scotland; he endeavoured to intercept the earl of Arran, who was haſtening to join the malcontents in that country; and the queen's wiſeſt miniſters ſtill

regarded his friendſhip as hollow and precarious.[e] But no ſooner did the death of Francis II put an end to Philip's apprehenſions with regard to Mary's ſucceſſion, than his animoſity againſt Elizabeth began more openly to appear; and the intereſts of Spain and thoſe of England were found oppoſite in every negociation and tranſaction.

The two great monarchies of the continent, France and Spain, being poſſeſſed of nearly equal force, were naturally antagoniſts; and England, from its power and ſituation, was entitled to ſupport its own dignity, as well as tranquillity, by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident, therefore, tended too much to depreſs one of theſe rival powers, as it left the other without control, might be deemed contrary to the intereſts of England: yet, ſo much were theſe great maxims of policy overruled, during that age, by the diſputes of theology, that Philip found an advantage in ſupporting the eſtabliſhed government and religion of France, and Elizabeth in protecting faction and innovation.

CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE.

THE queen regent of France, when reinſtated in authority by the death of her ſon Francis, had formed a plan of adminiſtration more ſubtle than judicious; and, balancing the catholics with the hugonots, the duke of Guiſe with the prince of Conde, ſhe endeavoured to render herſelf neceſſary to both, and to eſtabliſh her own dominion on their conſtrained obedience.[f] But the equal counterpoiſe of power, which, among foreign nations, is the ſource of tranquillity, proves always the ground of quarrel between domeſtic factions; and, if the animoſity of religion concur with the frequent occaſions which preſent themſelves of mutual injury, it is impoſſible, during any time, to preſerve a firm

concord in ſo delicate a ſituation. The conſtable, Montmorency, moved by zeal for the ancient faith, joined himſelf to the duke of Guiſe; the king of Navarre, from his inconſtant temper, and his jealouſy of the ſuperior genius of his brother, embraced the ſame party; and Catherine, finding herſelf depreſſed by this combination, had recourſe to Conde and the hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themſelves by her countenance and protection.[g] An edict had been publiſhed, granting a toleration to the proteſtants; but the intereſted violence of the duke of Guiſe, covered with the pretence of religious zeal, broke through this agreement; and the two parties, after the fallacious tranquillity of a moment, renewed their mutual inſults and injuries. Conde, Coligni, Andelot, aſſembled their friends, and flew to arms; Guiſe and Montmorency got poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, and conſtrained the queen regent to embrace their party; fourteen armies were levied, and put in motion, in different parts of France;[h] each province, each city, each family, was agitated with inteſtine rage and animoſity. The father was divided againſt the ſon; brother againſt brother; and women themſelves, ſacrificing their humanity as well as their timidity to the religious fury, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by acts of ferocity and valour.[i] Wherever the hugonots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demoliſhed, the monaſteries conſumed with fire; where ſucceſs attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, conſtrained married perſons to paſs anew through the nuptial ceremony; and plunder, deſolation, and bloodſhed, attended equally the triumph of both parties. The parliament of Paris itſelf, the ſeat of law and juſtice, inſtead of employing its authority to compoſe theſe fatal quarrels, publiſhed an edict, by which it put the ſword into the hands of the enraged multitude, and empowered the catholics every where to maſſacre the hugonots:[k] and it was

during this period, when men began to be ſomewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for poliſhed manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, ſeems to have attained its laſt ſtage of virulence and ferocity.

HAVRE DE GRACE PUT IN POSSESSION OF THE ENGLISH.

PHILIP, jealous of the progreſs which the hugonots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would ſpread into the Low Country provinces, had formed a ſecret alliance with the princes of Guiſe, and had entered into a mutual concert for the protection of the ancient faith, and the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. He now ſent ſix thouſand men, with ſome ſupply of money, to reinforce the catholic party; and the prince of Conde, finding himſelf unequal to ſo great a combination, countenanced by the royal authority, was obliged to diſpatch the Vidame of Chartres and Briguemaut to London, in order to crave the aſſiſtance and protection of Elizabeth. Moſt of the province of Normandy was poſſeſſed by the hugonots: and Conde offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the Engliſh; on condition that, together with three thouſand men for the garriſon of that place, the queen ſhould likewiſe ſend over three thouſand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and ſhould furniſh the prince with a ſupply of a hundred thouſand crowns.[1]

Elizabeth, beſides the general and eſſential intereſt of ſupporting the proteſtants, and oppoſing the rapid progreſs of her enemy the duke of Guiſe, had other motives which engaged her to accept of this propoſal. When ſhe concluded the peace at Cateau-Cambreſis, ſhe had good reaſon to foreſee that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article which regarded the reſtitution of Calais; and many ſubſequent incidents had tended

to confirm this ſuſpicion. Conſiderable ſums of money had been expended on the fortifications; long leaſes had been granted of the lands; and many inhabitants had been encouraged to build and ſettle there, by aſſurances that Calais ſhould never be reſtored to the Engliſh.[m] The queen therefore wiſely concluded that, could ſhe get poſſeſſion of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine, and was of greater importance than Calais, ſhe ſhould eaſily conſtrain the French to execute the treaty, and ſhould have the glory of reſtoring to the crown that ancient poſſeſſion, ſo much the favourite of the nation.

No meaſure could be more generally odious in France than the concluſion of this treaty with Elizabeth. Men were naturally led to compare the conduct of Guiſe, who had finally expelled the Engliſh, and had debarred theſe dangerous and deſtructive enemies from all acceſs into France, with the treaſonable politics of Conde, who had again granted them an entrance into the heart of the kingdom. The prince had the more reaſon to repent of this meaſure, as he reaped not from it all the advantage which he expected. Three thouſand Engliſh immediately took poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe, under the command of ſir Edward Poinings; but the latter place was found ſo little capable of defence, that it was immediately abandoned.[n] The ſiege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency; and it was with difficulty that Poinings could throw a ſmall reinforcement into the place. Though theſe Engliſh troops behaved with gallantry,[o] and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the ſiege, the catholics ſtill continued the attack of the place, and, carrying it at laſt by aſſault, put the whole garriſon to the ſword. The earl of Warwick, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived ſoon after at Havre with another

body of three thouſand Engliſh, and took on him the command of the place.

It was expected that the French catholics, flushed with their ſucceſs at Rouen, would immediately have formed the ſiege of Havre, which was not as yet in any condition of defence; but the inteſtine diſorders of the kingdom ſoon diverted their attention to another enterpriſe. Andelot, ſeconded by the negociations of Elizabeth, had levied a conſiderable body of proteſtants in Germany; and, having arrived at Orleans, the ſeat of the hugonots' power, he enabled the prince of Conde and the admiral to take the field, and oppoſe the progreſs of their enemies. After threatening Paris during ſome time, they took their march towards Normandy, with a view of engaging the Engliſh to act in conjunction with them, and of fortifying themſelves by the farther aſſiſtance which they expected from the zeal and vigour of Elizabeth.[p] The catholics, commanded by the conſtable, and under him by the duke of Guiſe, followed on their rear; and, overtaking them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides: and the action was diſtinguiſhed by this ſingular event, that Conde and Montmorency, the commanders of the oppoſite armies, fell both of them priſoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guiſe; but the admiral, whoſe fate it ever was to be defeated, and ſtill to riſe more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the army; and, inſpiring his own unconquerable courage and conſtancy into every breaſt, kept them in a body, and ſubdued ſome conſiderable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to ſupport his cauſe, ſent him a new ſupply of a hundred thouſand crowns; and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another ſum of equal amount.[q]

A PARLIAMENT. 1563.

THE expenſes incurred by aſſiſting the French hugonots had emptied the queen's exchequer; and, in order to obtain ſupply, ſhe found herſelf under a neceſſity of ſummoning a parliament; an expedient to which ſhe never willingly had recourſe. A little before the meeting of this aſſembly ſhe had fallen into a dangerous illneſs, the ſmall-pox; and, as her life, during ſome time, was deſpaired of, the people became the more ſenſible of their perilous ſituation, derived from the uncertainty which, in caſe of her demiſe, attended the ſucceſſion of the crown. The partiſans of the queen of Scots, and thoſe of the houſe of Suffolk, already divided the nation into factions; and every one foreſaw that, though it might be poſſible at preſent to determine the controverſy by law, yet, if the throne were vacant, nothing but the ſword would be able to fix a ſucceſſor. The commons, therefore, on the opening of the ſeſſion, voted an addreſs to the queen; in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful ſucceſſion, and mentioning the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaſter, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehenſions, by chooſing ſome huſband, whom, they promiſed, whoever he were, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to ſerve, honour, and obey: or, if ſhe had entertained any reluctance to the married ſtate, they deſired that the lawful ſucceſſor might be named, at leaſt appointed, by act of parliament. They remarked that, during all the reigns which had paſſed ſince the conqueſt, the nation had never before been ſo unhappy as not to know the perſon who, in caſe of the ſovereign's death, was legally entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they obſerved that the fixed order, which took place in inheriting the French

monarchy, was one chief ſource of the uſual tranquillity, as well as of the happineſs, of that kingdom.[r]

This ſubject, though extremely intereſting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen; and ſhe was ſenſible that great difficulties would attend every deciſion. A declaration in favour of the queen of Scots would form a ſettlement perfectly legal, becauſe that princeſs was commonly allowed to poſſeſs the right of blood; and the excluſion given by Henry's will, deriving its weight chiefly from an act of parliament, would loſe all authority whenever the queen and parliament had made a new ſettlement, and reſtored the Scottiſh line to its place in the ſucceſſion. But ſhe dreaded giving encouragement to the catholics, her ſecret enemies, by this declaration. She was ſenſible that every heir was, in ſome degree, a rival; much more one who enjoyed a claim for the preſent poſſeſſion of the crown, and who had already advanced, in a very open manner, theſe dangerous pretenſions. The great power of Mary, both from the favour of the catholic princes, and her connexions with the houſe of Guiſe, not to mention the force and ſituation of Scotland, was well known to her; and ſhe ſaw no ſecurity that this princeſs, if fortified by a ſure proſpect of ſucceſſion, would not revive claims which ſhe could never yet be prevailed on formally to relinquiſh. On the other hand, the title of the houſe of Suffolk was ſupported by the more zealous proteſtants only; and it was very doubtful whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour would beſtow on it ſuch validity as to give ſatisfaction to the people. The republican part of the conſtitution had not yet acquired ſuch an aſcendant as to control, in any degree, the ideas of hereditary right; and, as the legality of Henry's will was diſputed, though founded on the utmoſt authority which a parliament could confer, who could be aſſured that a more recent act would be acknowledged to have greater

validity? In the frequent revolutions which had of late taken place, the right of blood had ſtill prevailed over religious prejudices; and the nation had ever ſhewn itſelf diſpoſed rather to change its faith than the order of ſucceſſion. Even many proteſtants declared themſelves in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance;' and nothing would occaſion more general diſguſt than to ſee the queen, openly and without reſerve, take part againſt it. The Scottiſh princeſs alſo, finding herſelf injured in ſo ſenſible a point, would thenceforth act as a declared enemy; and, uniting together her foreign and domeſtic friends, the partiſans of her preſent title and of her eventual ſucceſſion, would ſoon bring matters to extremities againſt the preſent eſtabliſhment. The queen, weighing all theſe inconveniences, which were great and urgent, was determined to keep both parties in awe by maintaining ſtill an ambiguous conduct; and ſhe rather choſe that the people ſhould run the hazard of contingent events, than that ſhe herſelf ſhould viſibly endanger her throne by employing expedients which at beſt would not beſtow entire ſecurity on the nation. She gave, therefore, an evaſive anſwer to the application of the commons; and, when the houſe, at the end of the ſeſſion, deſired, by the mouth of their ſpeaker, farther ſatisfaction on that head, ſhe could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicit. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe had fixed no abſolute reſolution againſt marriage; and ſhe added, that the difficulties attending the queſtion of the ſucceſſion were ſo great, that ſhe would be contented, for the ſake of her people, to remain ſome time longer in this vale of miſery; and never ſhould depart life with ſatisfaction, till ſhe had laid ſome ſolid foundation for their future ſecurity.'

The moſt remarkable law paſſed this ſeſſion was that which bore the title of 'Aſſurance of the queen's royal power over all

ſtates and ſubjects [u] within her dominions.' By this act the aſſerting twice, by writing, word, or deed, the pope's authority, was ſubjected to the penalties of treaſon. All perſons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of ſupremacy; as alſo all who were advanced to any degree, either in the univerſities or in common law; all ſchoolmaſters, officers in court, or members of parliament: and the penalty of their ſecond refuſal was treaſon. The firſt offence, in both caſes, was puniſhed by baniſhment and forfeiture. This rigorous ſtatute was not extended to any of the degree of a baron; becauſe it was not ſuppoſed that the queen could entertain any doubt with regard to the fidelity of perſons poſſeſſed of ſuch high dignity. Lord Montacute made oppoſition to the bill; and aſſerted, in favour of the catholics, that they diſputed not, they preached not, they diſobeyed not the queen, they cauſed no trouble, no tumults among the people.[w] It is, however, probable that ſome ſuſpicions of their ſecret conſpiracies had made the queen and parliament increaſe their rigour againſt them, though it is alſo more than probable that they were miſtaken in the remedy.

There was likewiſe another point in which the parliament, this ſeſſion, ſhewed more the goodneſs of their intention than the ſoundneſs of their judgment. They paſſed a law againſt fond and fantaſtical prophecies, which had been obſerved to ſeduce the people into rebellion and diſorder:[x] but, at the ſame time, they enacted a ſtatute which was moſt likely to increaſe theſe and ſuch like ſuperſtitions; it was levelled againſt conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft.[y] Witchcraft and hereſy are two crimes which commonly increaſe by puniſhment, and never are ſo effectually ſuppreſſed as by being totally neglected. After the parliament had granted the queen a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths, the ſeſſion was finiſhed by a prorogation. The

convocation likewiſe voted the queen a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, payable in three years.

While the Engliſh parties exerted theſe calm efforts againſt each other in parliamentary votes and debates, the French factions, inflamed to the higheſt degree of animoſity, continued that cruel war which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was ſucceſsful in reducing the towns of Normandy which held for the king; but he frequently complained that the numerous garriſon of Havre remained totally inactive, and was not employed in any military operation againſt the common enemy. The queen, in taking poſſeſſion of that place, had publiſhed a manifeſto,[z] in which ſhe pretended that her concern for the intereſts of the French king had engaged her in that meaſure, and that her ſole intention was to oppoſe her enemies of the houſe of Guiſe, who held their prince in captivity, and employed his power to the deſtruction of his beſt and moſt faithful ſubjects. It was chiefly her deſire to preſerve appearances, joined to the great frugality of her temper, which made her, at this critical juncture, keep her ſoldiers in garriſon, and reſtrain them from committing farther hoſtilities upon the enemy.[a] The duke of Guiſe, meanwhile, was aiming a mortal blow at the power of the hugonots; and had commenced the ſiege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where the conſtable was detained priſoner. He had the proſpect of ſpeedy ſucceſs in this undertaking; when he was aſſaſſinated by Poltrot, a young gentleman, whoſe zeal, inſtigated (as is pretended, though without any certain foundation) by the admiral, and Beza, a famous preacher, led him to attempt that criminal enterpriſe. The death of this gallant prince was a ſenſible loſs to the catholic party; and, though the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, ſtill ſupported the intereſts of the family, the danger of their progreſs appeared not

ſo imminent either to Elizabeth or to the French proteſtants. The union, therefore, between theſe allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, began thenceforth to be leſs intimate; and the leaders of the hugonots were perſuaded to hearken to terms of a ſeparate accommodation. Conde and Montmorency held conferences for ſettling the peace; and, as they were both of them impatient to relieve themſelves from captivity, they ſoon came to an agreement with regard to the conditions. The character of the queen regent, whoſe ends were always violent, but who endeavoured, by ſubtilty and policy, rather than force, to attain them, led her to embrace any plauſible terms; and, in ſpite of the proteſtations of the admiral, whoſe ſagacity could eaſily diſcover the treachery of the court, the articles of agreement were finally ſettled between the parties. A toleration, under ſome reſtrictions, was anew granted to the proteſtants; a general amneſty was publiſhed; Conde was reinſtated in his offices and governments; and, after money was advanced for the payment of arrears due to the German troops, they were diſmiſſed the kingdom.

By the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Conde it had been ſtipulated [b] that neither party ſhould conclude peace without the conſent of the other; but this article was at preſent but little regarded by the leaders of the French proteſtants. They only comprehended her ſo far in the treaty as to obtain a promiſe that, on her relinquiſhing Havre, her charges, and the money which ſhe had advanced them, ſhould be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term, ſhould be reſtored to her. But ſhe diſdained to accept of theſe conditions; and, thinking the poſſeſſion of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpoſe, ſhe ſent Warwick orders to prepare himſelf againſt an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, beſides ſeven hundred pioneers, had no ſooner got poſſeſſion of Havre than he employed every means for putting it in a poſture of defence;[c] and, after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his ſoldiers to make the moſt deſperate defence againſt the enemy. The conſtable commanded the French army; the queen regent herſelf, and the king, were preſent in the camp; even the prince of Conde joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to this enterpriſe; the admiral and Andelot alone, anxious ſtill to preſerve the friendſhip of Elizabeth, kept at a diſtance, and prudently refuſed to join their ancient enemies in an attack upon their allies.

HAVRE LOST.

From the force, and diſpoſitions, and ſituations, of both ſides, it was expected that the ſiege would be attended with ſome memorable event; yet did France make a much eaſier acquiſition of this important place than was at firſt apprehended. The plague crept in among the Engliſh ſoldiers; and, being increaſed by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill ſupplied with proviſions),[d] it made ſuch ravages, that ſometimes a hundred men a day died of it; and there remained not at laſt fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty.[e] The French, meeting with ſuch feeble reſiſtance, carried on their attacks ſucceſsfully; and, having made two breaches, each of them ſixty feet wide, they prepared for a general aſſault, which muſt have terminated in the ſlaughter of the whole garriſon.[f] Warwick, who had frequently warned the Engliſh council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a ſupply of men and proviſions, found himſelf obliged to capitulate, and to content himſelf with the liberty of withdrawing his garriſon. The articles were no ſooner ſigned

than lord Clinton the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thouſand men, and found the place ſurrendered to the enemy. To increaſe the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it ſwept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thouſand perſons there died of it in one year.[g]

Elizabeth, whoſe uſual vigour and foreſight had not appeared in this tranſaction, was now glad to compound matters; and, as the queen regent deſired to obtain leiſure, in order to prepare meaſures for the extermination of the hugonots, ſhe readily hearkened to any reaſonable terms of accommodation with England.[h] It was agreed that the hoſtages, which the French had given for the reſtitution of Calais, ſhould be reſtored for two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns, and that both ſides ſhould retain all their claims and pretenſions.

SCOTCH AFFAIRS.

THE peace ſtill continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendſhip ſeemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. Theſe princeſſes made profeſſion of the moſt entire affection; wrote amicable letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the ſentiments as well as ſtyle of ſiſters. Elizabeth puniſhed one Hales, who had publiſhed a book againſt Mary's title;[i] and, as the lord keeper Bacon was thought to have encouraged Hales in this undertaking, he fell under her diſpleaſure; and it was with ſome difficulty he was able to give her ſatisfaction, and to recover her favour.[k] The two queens had agreed in the foregoing ſummer to an interview at York,[l] in order to remove all difficulties with regard to Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to conſider

of the proper method for ſettling the ſucceſſion of England: but, as Elizabeth carefully avoided touching on this delicate ſubject, ſhe employed a pretence of the wars in France, which, ſhe ſaid, would detain her in London; and ſhe delayed till next year the intended interview. It is alſo probable that, being well acquainted with the beauty and addreſs and accompliſhments of Mary, ſhe did not chooſe to ſtand the compariſon with regard to thoſe exterior qualities, in which ſhe was eclipſed by her rival; and was unwilling that a princeſs, who had already made great progreſs in the eſteem and affections of the Engliſh, ſhould have a farther opportunity of increaſing the number of her partiſans.

Mary's cloſe connexions with the houſe of Guiſe, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, by whom ſhe had been early educated and conſtantly protected, was the ground of juſt and unſurmountable jealouſy to Elizabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and was well acquainted with their dangerous character and ambitious projects. They had made offer of their niece to don Carlos, Philip's ſon; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might eaſily be freed by a diſpenſation; and they were ready to marry her to any one who could ſtrengthen their intereſts, or give inquietude and diſturbance to Elizabeth.[m] Elizabeth, on her part, was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their ſchemes, and was particularly anxious leſt Mary ſhould form any powerful foreign alliance which might tempt her to revive her pretenſions to the crown, and to invade the kingdom on the ſide where it was weakeſt and lay moſt expoſed.[n] As ſhe believed that the marriage with the archduke Charles was the one moſt likely to have place, ſhe uſed every expedient to prevent it; and, beſides remonſtrating againſt

it to Mary herſelf, ſhe endeavoured to draw off the archduke from that purſuit by giving him ſome hopes of ſucceſs in his pretenſions to herſelf, and by inviting him to a renewal of the former treaty of marriage.[o] She always told the queen of Scots that nothing would ſatisfy her but her eſpouſing ſome Engliſh nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealouſy, and cement the union between the kingdoms; and ſhe offered, on this condition, to have her title examined, and to declare her ſucceſſor to the crown.[p] After keeping the matter in theſe general terms during a twelvemonth, ſhe at laſt named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leiceſter, as the perſon on whom ſhe deſired that Mary's choice ſhould fall.

The earl of Leiceſter, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, poſſeſſed all thoſe exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair ſex; a handſome perſon, a polite addreſs, an inſinuating behaviour; and, by means of theſe accompliſhments, he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, inſolent, intereſted, ambitious; without honour, without generoſity, without humanity; and atoned not for theſe bad qualities by ſuch abilities or courage as could fit him for that high truſt and confidence with which ſhe always honoured him. Her conſtant and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him to aſpire to her bed; and, in order to make way for theſe nuptials, he was univerſally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heireſs of one Robeſart. The propoſal of eſpouſing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always aſcribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy; who, he thought, intended by that artifice to make him loſe the friendſhip of Mary from the temerity of his pretenſions, and that of Elizabeth from jealouſy of his attachments to another

woman.[q] The queen herſelf had not any ſerious intention of effecting this marriage; but, as ſhe was deſirous that the queen of Scots ſhould never have any huſband, ſhe named a man who, ſhe believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and ſhe hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The earl of Leiceſter was too great a favourite to be parted with; and, when Mary, allured by the proſpect of being declared ſucceſſor to the crown, ſeemed at laſt to hearken to Elizabeth's propoſal, this princeſs receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait which ſhe had thrown out to her rival.[r] This duplicity of conduct, joined to ſome appearance of an imperious ſuperiority, aſſumed by her, had drawn a peeviſh letter from Mary; and the ſeemingly amicable correſpondence between the two queens was, during ſome time, interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the queen of Scots diſpatched ſir James Melvil to London; who has given us, in his memoirs, a particular account of his negociation.

Melvil was an agreeable courtier, a man of addreſs and converſation; and it was recommended to him, by his miſtreſs, that, beſides grave reaſonings concerning politics and ſtate affairs, he ſhould introduce more entertaining topics of converſation, ſuitable to the ſprightly character of Elizabeth; and ſhould endeavour by that means to inſinuate himſelf into her confidence. He ſucceeded ſo well that he threw that artful princeſs entirely off her guard;[s] and made her diſcover the bottom of her heart, full of all thoſe levities and follies, and ideas of rivalſhip, which poſſeſs the youngeſt and moſt frivolous of her ſex. He talked to her of his travels, and forgot not to mention the different dreſſes of the ladies in different countries, and the particular advantages of each, in ſetting off the beauties of the ſhape and perſon. The queen ſaid that ſhe had dreſſes of all countries; and ſhe took care thenceforth to meet the ambaſſador every day apparelled

in a different habit: ſometimes ſhe was dreſſed in the Engliſh garb, ſometimes in the French, ſometimes in the Italian; and ſhe aſked him which of them became her moſt? He anſwered, the Italian; a reply that, he knew, would be agreeable to her, becauſe that mode ſhewed to advantage her flowing locks, which he remarked, though they were more red than yellow, ſhe fancied to be the fineſt in the world. She deſired to know of him what was reputed the beſt colour of hair: ſhe aſked whether his queen or ſhe had the fineſt hair: ſhe even inquired which of them he eſteemed the faireſt perſon: a very delicate queſtion, and which he prudently eluded, by ſaying that her majeſty was the faireſt perſon in England, and his miſtreſs in Scotland. She next demanded which of them was talleſt: he replied, his queen: 'Then ſhe is too tall,' ſaid Elizabeth, 'for I myſelf am of a juſt ſtature.' Having learned from him that his miſtreſs ſometimes recreated herſelf by playing on the harpſichord, an inſtrument on which ſhe herſelf excelled, ſhe gave orders to lord Hunſdon that he ſhould lead the ambaſſador, as it were caſually, into an apartment where he might hear her perform: and, when Melvil, as [illegible]aviſhed with the harmony, broke into the queen's apartment, ſhe pretended to be diſpleaſed with his intruſion; but ſtill took care to aſk him whether he thought Mary or her the beſt performer on that inſtrument?' From the whole of her behaviour, Melvil thought he might, on his return, aſſure his miſtreſs that ſhe had no reaſon ever to expect any cordial friendſhip from Elizabeth, and that all her profeſſions of amity were full of falſehood and diſſimulation.

After two years had been ſpent in evaſions and artifices, Mary's ſubjects and counſellors, and probably herſelf, began to think it full time that ſome marriage were concluded; and lord Darnley, ſon of the earl of Lenox, was the perſon in whom moſt men's opinions and wiſhes centered. He was Mary's couſin-

german by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Harry VIII, and daughter of the earl of Angus by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had conſtantly reſided, ſince he had been baniſhed by the prevailing power of the houſe of Hamilton: and, as Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and was a very comely perſon, tall and delicately ſhaped, it was hoped that he might ſoon render himſelf agreeable to the queen of Scots. He was alſo by his father a branch of the ſame family with herſelf; and would, in eſpouſing her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart: he was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and thoſe who pretended to exclude her on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to recommend his title, and give it the preference. It ſeemed no inconſiderable advantage that ſhe could, by marrying, unite both their claims; and, as he was by birth an Engliſhman, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any ground of ſuſpicion to Elizabeth, it was hoped that the propoſal of this marriage would not be unacceptable to that jealous princeſs.

Elizabeth was well informed of theſe intentions;[w] and was ſecretly not diſpleaſed with the projected marriage between Darnley and the queen of Scots.[x] She would rather have wiſhed that Mary had continued for ever in a ſingle life: but, finding little probability of rendering this ſcheme effectual, ſhe was ſatisfied with a choice which freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the neceſſity of parting with Leiceſter, her favourite. In order to pave the way to Darnley's marriage, ſhe ſecretly deſired Mary to invite Lenox into Scotland, to reverſe his attainder, and to reſtore him to his honours and fortune:[y] and, when her requeſt was complied with, ſhe took care, in order to preſerve the friendſhip of the Hamiltons and her other partiſans in Scotland, to blame openly this conduct of

Mary.[z] Hearing that the negociation for Darnley's marriage advanced apace, ſhe gave that nobleman permiſſion, on his firſt application, to follow his father into Scotland: but no ſooner did ſhe learn that the queen of Scots was taken with his figure and perſon, and that all meaſures were fixed for eſpouſing him, than ſhe exclaimed againſt the marriage; ſent Throgmorton to order Darnley immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the counteſs of Lenox and her ſecond ſon into the tower, where they ſuffered a rigorous confinement; ſeized all Lenox's Engliſh eſtate; and, though it was impoſſible for her to aſſign one ſingle reaſon for her diſpleaſure,[a] ſhe menaced, and proteſted, and complained, as if ſhe had ſuffered the moſt grievous injury in the world.

The politics of Elizabeth, though judicious, were uſually full of duplicity and artifice; but never more ſo than in her tranſactions with the queen of Scots, where there entered ſo many little paſſions and narrow jealouſies, that ſhe durſt not avow to the world the reaſons of her conduct, ſcarcely to her miniſters, and ſcarcely even to herſelf. But, beſides a womaniſh rivalſhip and envy againſt the marriage of this princeſs, ſhe had ſome motives of intereſt for feigning a diſpleaſure on the preſent occaſion: it ſerved her as a pretence for refuſing to acknowledge Mary's title to the ſucceſſion of England; a point to which, for good reaſons, ſhe was determined never to conſent: and it was uſeful to her for a purpoſe ſtill more unfriendly and dangerous, for encouraging the diſcontents and rebellion of the Scottiſh nobility and eccleſiaſtics.[b]

Nothing can be more unhappy for a people than to be governed by a ſovereign attached to a religion different from the eſtabliſhed; and it is ſcarcely poſſible that mutual confidence can ever, in ſuch a ſituation, have place between the prince and his ſubjects. Mary's conduct had been hitherto, in every re-

ſpect, unexceptionable, and even laudable; yet had ſhe not made ſuch progreſs in acquiring popularity as might have been expected from her gracious deportment and agreeable accompliſhments. Suſpicions every moment prevailed on account of her attachment to the catholic faith, and eſpecially to her uncles, the open and avowed promoters of the ſcheme for exterminating the profeſſors of the reformed religion throughout all Europe. She ſtill refuſed to ratify the acts of parliament which had eſtabliſhed the reformation; ſhe made attempts for reſtoring to the catholic biſhops ſome part of their civil juriſdiction;[c] and ſhe wrote a letter to the council of Trent, in which, beſides profeſſing her attachment to the catholic faith, ſhe took notice of her title to ſucceed to the crown of England; and expreſſed her hopes of being able, in ſome period, to bring back all her dominions to the boſom of the church.[d] The zealots among the proteſtants were not wanting, in their turn, to exerciſe their inſolence againſt her, which tended ſtill more to alienate her from their faith. A law was enacted, making it capital, on the very firſt offence, to ſay maſs any where, except in the queen's chapel;[e] and it was with difficulty that even this ſmall indulgence was granted her. The general aſſembly importuned her anew to change her religion; to renounce the blaſphemous idolatry of the maſs, with the tyranny of the Roman antichriſt; and to embrace the true religion of Chriſt Jeſus.[f] As ſhe anſwered, with temper, that ſhe was not yet convinced of the falſity of her religion or the impiety of the maſs; and that her apoſtaſy would loſe her the friendſhip of her allies on the continent; they replied by aſſuring her that their religion was undoubtedly the ſame which had been revealed by Jeſus Chriſt, which had been preached by the apoſtles, and which had been embraced by the faithful in the primitive ages; that neither the religion of Turks, Jews, nor papiſts, was built on ſo ſolid a foundation as theirs;

that they alone, of all the various ſpecies of religioniſts ſpread over the face of the earth, were ſo happy as to be poſſeſſed of the truth; that thoſe who hear, or rather who gaze on, the maſs allow ſacrilege, pronounce blaſphemy, and commit moſt abominable idolatry; and that the friendſhip of the King of kings was preferable to all the alliances in the world.[g]

QUEEN OF SCOTS MARRIES EARL OF DARNLEY. 1565.

THE marriage of the queen of Scots had kindled afreſh the zeal of the reformers, becauſe the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith; and, though Darnley, who now bore the name of king Henry, went often to the eſtabliſhed church, he could not, by this exterior compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the eccleſiaſtics. They rather laid hold of the opportunity to inſult him to his face; and Knox ſcrupled not to tell him, from the pulpit, that God, for puniſhment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women.[h] The populace of Edinburgh, inſtigated by ſuch doctrines, began to meet and to aſſociate themſelves againſt the government.[i] But what threatened more immediate danger to Mary's authority were the diſcontents which prevailed among ſome of the principal nobility.

The duke of Chatelrault was diſpleaſed with the reſtoration, and ſtill more with the aggrandizement, of the family of Lenox, his hereditary enemies; and entertained fears leſt his own eventual ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland ſhould be excluded by his rival, who had formerly advanced ſome pretenſions to it. The earl of Murray found his credit at court much diminiſhed by the intereſt of Lenox and his ſon; and began to apprehend the revocation of ſome conſiderable grants, which he had obtained from Mary's bounty. The earls of Argyle, Rothes, and

Glencairne, the lords Boyde and Ochiltry, Kirkaldy of Grange, Pittarow, were inſtigated by like motives; and, as theſe were the perſons who had moſt zealouſly promoted the reformation, they were diſguſted to find that the queen's favour was entirely engroſſed by a new cabal, the earls of Bothwel, Athole, Sutherland, and Huntley; men who were eſteemed either lukewarm in religious controverſy, or inclined to the catholic party. The ſame ground of diſcontent which, in other courts, is the ſource of intrigue, faction, and oppoſition, commonly produced in Scotland either projects of aſſaſſination or of rebellion; and, beſides mutual accuſations of the former kind, which it is difficult to clear up,[k] the malcontent lords, as ſoon as they ſaw the queen's marriage entirely reſolved on, entered into a confederacy for taking arms againſt their ſovereign. They met at Stirling; pretended an anxious concern for the ſecurity of religion; framed engagements for mutual defence; and made applications to Elizabeth for aſſiſtance and protection.[l] That princeſs, after publiſhing the expreſſions of her diſpleaſure againſt the marriage, had ſecretly ordered her ambaſſadors Randolf and Throgmorton to give, in her name, ſome promiſes of ſupport to the malcontents; and had even ſent them a ſupply of ten thouſand pounds, to enable them to begin an inſurrection.[m]

Mary was no ſooner informed of the meeting at Stirling, and the movements of the lords, than ſhe ſummoned them to appear in court, in order to anſwer for their conduct; and, having levied ſome forces to execute the laws, ſhe obliged the rebels to leave the low countries, and take ſhelter in Argyleſhire. That ſhe might more effectually cut off their reſources, ſhe proceeded with the king to Glaſgow, and forced them from their retreat. They appeared at Paiſley, in the neighbourhood, with about a thouſand horſe; and, paſſing the queen's army, proceeded to Hamilton, thence to Edinburgh, which they entered without reſiſt-

ance. They expected great reinforcements in this place from the efforts of Knox and the ſeditious preachers; and they beat their drums, deſiring all men to enliſt, and to receive wages, for the defence of God's glory.[n] But the nation was in no diſpoſition for rebellion; Mary was eſteemed and beloved; her marriage was not generally diſagreeable to the people; and the intereſted views of the malcontent lords were ſo well known, that their pretence of zeal for religion had little influence even on the ignorant populace.[o] The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army. The rebels were obliged to retire into the ſouth; and, being purſued by a force which now amounted to eighteen thouſand men,[p] they found themſelves under a neceſſity of abandoning their country, and of taking ſhelter in England.

Elizabeth, when ſhe found the event ſo much to diſappoint her expectations, thought proper to diſavow all connexions with the Scottiſh malcontents, and to declare every where that ſhe had never given them any encouragement, nor any promiſe of countenance or aſſiſtance. She even carried farther her diſſimulation and hypocriſy. Murray had come to London with the abbot of Kilwinning, agent for Chatelrault; and ſhe ſeduced them, by ſecret aſſurances of protection, to declare, before the ambaſſadors of France and Spain, that ſhe had nowiſe contributed to their inſurrection. No ſooner had ſhe extorted this confeſſion from them than ſhe chaſed them from her preſence, called them unworthy traitors, declared that their deteſtable rebellion was of bad example to all princes; and aſſured them that, as ſhe had hitherto given them no encouragement, ſo ſhould they never thenceforth receive from her any aſſiſtance or protection.[q] Throgmorton alone, whoſe honour was equal to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to conceal the part which he had acted in the enterpriſe of the Scottiſh rebels; and, being

well appriſed of the uſual character and conduct of Elizabeth, he had had the precaution to obtain an order of council to authoriſe the engagements which he had been obliged to make with them.[r]

The baniſhed lords, finding themſelves ſo harſhly treated by Elizabeth, had recourſe to the clemency of their own ſovereign; and, after ſome ſolicitation and ſome profeſſions of ſincere repentance, the duke of Chatelrault obtained his pardon, on condition that he ſhould retire into France. Mary was more implacable againſt the ungrateful earl of Murray and the other confederates, on whom ſhe threw the chief blame of the enterpriſe; but, as ſhe was continually plied with applications from their friends, and as ſome of her moſt judicious partiſans in England thought that nothing would more promote her intereſts in that kingdom than the gentle treatment of men ſo celebrated for their zeal againſt the catholic religion, ſhe agreed to give way to her natural temper, which inclined not to ſeverity, and ſhe ſeemed determined to reſtore them to favour.[s] In this interval Rambouillet arrived as ambaſſador from France, and brought her advice from her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, to whoſe opinion ſhe always paid an extreme deference, by no means to pardon theſe proteſtant leaders, who had been engaged in a rebellion againſt her.[t]

CONFEDERACY AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.

THE two religions in France, as well as in other parts of Europe, were rather irritated than tired with their acts of mutual violence; and the peace granted to the hugonots, as had been foreſeen by Coligni, was intended only to lull them aſleep, and prepare the way for their final and abſolute deſtruction. The queen regent made a pretence of travelling through the king-

dom, in order to viſit the provinces, and correct all the abuſes ariſing from the late civil war; and, after having held ſome conferences on the frontiers with the duke of Lorraine and the duke of Savoy, ſhe came to Bayonne, where ſhe was met by her daughter, the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva. Nothing appeared in the congreſs of theſe two ſplendid courts but gaiety, feſtivity, love, and joy; but amidſt theſe ſmiling appearances were ſecretly fabricated ſchemes the moſt bloody, and the moſt deſtructive to the repoſe of mankind, that had ever been thought of in any age or nation. No leſs than a total and univerſal extermination of the proteſtants by fire and ſword was concerted by Philip and Catherine of Medicis; and Alva, agreeably to his fierce and ſanguinary diſpoſition, adviſed the queen regent to commence the execution of this project by the immediate maſſacre of all the leaders of the hugonots.[v] But that princeſs, though equally hardened againſt every humane ſentiment, would not forego this opportunity of diſplaying her wit and refined politics; and ſhe purpoſed, rather by treachery and diſſimulation, which ſhe called addreſs, to lead the proteſtants into the ſnare, and never to draw the ſword till they were totally diſabled from reſiſtance. The cardinal of Lorraine, whoſe character bore a greater affinity to that of Alva, was a chief author of this barbarous aſſociation againſt the reformers; and, having connected hopes of ſucceſs with the aggrandizement of his niece, the queen of Scots, he took care that her meaſures ſhould correſpond to thoſe violent counſels which were embraced by the other catholic princes. In conſequence of this ſcheme, he turned her from the road of clemency, which ſhe intended to have followed, and made her reſolve on the total ruin of the baniſhed lords.[w] A parliament was ſummoned at Edinburgh for attainting them; and, as their guilt was palpable and avowed, no doubt was entertained but ſentence would be pronounced againſt them.

It was by a ſudden and violent incident, which, in the iſſue, brought on the ruin of Mary herſelf, that they were ſaved from the rigour of the law.

The marriage of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley was ſo natural, and ſo inviting in all its circumſtances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princeſs and her council; and, while ſhe was allured by his youth and beauty, and exterior accompliſhments, ſhe had at firſt overlooked the qualities of his mind, which nowiſe correſponded to the excellence of his outward figure. Violent, yet variable in his reſolutions; inſolent, yet credulous and eaſily governed by flatterers; he was deſtitute of all gratitude, becauſe he thought no favours equal to his merit; and, being addicted to low pleaſures, he was equally incapable of all true ſentiments of love and tenderneſs.[x] The queen of Scots, in the firſt effuſions of her fondneſs, had taken a pleaſure in exalting him beyond meaſure: ſhe had granted him the title of king; ſhe had joined his name with her own in all public acts; ſhe intended to have procured him from the parliament a matrimonial crown: but, having leiſure afterwards to remark his weakneſs and vices, ſhe began to ſee the danger of her profuſe liberality, and was reſolved thenceforth to proceed with more reſerve in the truſt which ſhe ſhould confer upon him. His reſentment againſt this prudent conduct ſerved but the more to increaſe her diſguſt; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance againſt every one whom he deemed the cauſe of this change in her meaſures and behaviour.

MURDER OF RIZZIO. 1566.

THERE was in the court one David Rizzio, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favour with the queen of Scots. He was a Piedmonteſe, of mean birth, ſon

of a teacher of muſic, himſelf a muſician; and, finding it difficult to ſubſiſt by his art in his own country, he had followed into Scotland an ambaſſador whom the duke of Savoy ſent thither to pay his compliments to Mary ſome time after her firſt arrival. He poſſeſſed a good ear and a tolerable voice; and, as that princeſs found him uſeful to complete her band of muſic, ſhe retained him in her ſervice after the departure of his maſter. Her ſecretary for French diſpatches having, ſome time after, incurred her diſpleaſure, ſhe promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her perſon and inſinuating himſelf into her favour. He was ſhrewd and ſenſible, as well as aſpiring, much beyond his rank and education; and he made ſo good uſe of the acceſs which fortune had procured him, that he was ſoon regarded as the chief confidant, and even miniſter, of the queen. He was conſulted on all occaſions; no favours could be obtained but by his interceſſion; all ſuitors were obliged to gain him by preſents and flattery; and the man, inſolent from his new exaltation, as well as rapacious in his acquiſitions, ſoon drew on himſelf the hatred of the nobility and of the whole kingdom.[y] He had at firſt employed his credit to promote Darnley's marriage, and a firm friendſhip ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed between them: but, on the ſubſequent change of the queen's ſentiments, it was eaſy for Henry's friends to perſuade him that Rizzio was the real author of her indifference, and even to rouſe in his mind jealouſies of a more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a diſagreeable figure, but was not paſt his youth;[z] and, though the opinion of his criminal correſpondence with Mary might ſeem of itſelf unreaſonable, if not abſurd, a ſuſpicious huſband could find no other means of accounting for that laviſh and imprudent kindneſs with which ſhe honoured him. The rigid auſterity of the eccleſiaſtics, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to ſpread this opinion among

the people; and, as Rizzio was univerſally believed to be a penſionary of the pope's, and to be deeply engaged in all ſchemes againſt the proteſtants, any ſtory, to his and Mary's diſadvantage, received an eaſy credit among the zealots of that communion.

Rizzio, who had connected his intereſts with the Roman catholics, was the declared enemy of the baniſhed lords; and, by promoting the violent proſecution againſt them, he had expoſed himſelf to the animoſity of their numerous friends and retainers. A ſcheme was alſo thought to be formed for revoking ſome exorbitant grants made during the queen's minority; and even the nobility, who had ſeized the eccleſiaſtical benefices, began to think themſelves leſs ſecure in the poſſeſſion of them.[a] The earl of Morton, chancellor, was affected by all theſe conſiderations, and ſtill more by a rumour ſpread abroad that Mary intended to appoint Rizzio chancellor in his place, and to beſtow that dignity on a mean and upſtart foreigner, ignorant of the laws and language of the country.[b] So indiſcreet had this princeſs been in her kindneſs to Rizzio, that even that ſtrange report met with credit, and proved a great means of accelerating the ruin of the favourite. Morton, inſinuating himſelf into Henry's confidence, employed all his art to inflame the diſcontent and jealouſy of that prince; and he perſuaded him that the only means of freeing himſelf from the indignities under which he laboured was to bring the baſe ſtranger to the fate which he had ſo well merited, and which was ſo paſſionately deſired by the whole nation. George Douglas, natural brother to the counteſs of Lenox, concurred in the ſame advice; and the lords Ruthven and Lindeſey, being conſulted, offered their aſſiſtance in the enterpriſe; nor was even the earl of Lenox, the king's father, averſe to the deſign.[c] But, as theſe conſpirators were well acquainted with Henry's levity, they engaged him to ſign a paper, in which he

avowed the undertaking, as tending to the glory of God and advancement of religion, and promiſed to protect them againſt every conſequence which might enſue upon the aſſaſſination of Rizzio.[d] All theſe meaſures being concerted, a meſſenger was diſpatched to the baniſhed lords, who were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country.

This deſign, ſo atrocious in itſelf, was rendered ſtill more ſo by the circumſtances which attended its execution. Mary, who was in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, was ſupping in private, and had at table the counteſs of Argyle, her natural ſiſter, with Rizzio, and others of her ſervants. The king entered the room by a private paſſage, and ſtood at the back of Mary's chair: lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conſpirators, being all armed, ruſhed in after him; and the queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demanded of them the reaſon of this rude intruſion. They told her that they intended no violence againſt her perſon; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing at Rizzio, to his deſerved puniſhment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his miſtreſs, and, ſeizing her by the waiſt, called aloud to her for protection; while ſhe interpoſed in his behalf with cries and menaces and entreaties. The impatient aſſaſſins, regardleſs of her efforts, ruſhed upon their prey, and, by overturning every thing which ſtood in their way, increaſed the horror and confuſion of the ſcene. Douglas, ſeizing Henry's dagger, ſtuck it in the body of Rizzio, who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conſpirators, and puſhed into the antichamber, where he was diſpatched with fifty-ſix wounds.[e] The unhappy princeſs, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and ſaid ſhe would weep no more, ſhe would now think of revenge. The inſult, indeed, upon her perſon; the ſtain attempted to be fixed on her honour; the

danger to which her life was expoſed, on account of her pregnancy; were injuries ſo atrocious and ſo complicated, that they ſcarcely left room for pardon, even from the greateſt lenity and mercy.

The aſſaſſins, apprehenſive of Mary's reſentment, detained her priſoner in the palace; and the king diſmiſſed all who ſeemed willing to attempt her reſcue, by telling them that nothing was done without his orders, and that he would be careful of the queen's ſafety. Murray and the baniſhed lords appeared two days after; and Mary, whoſe anger was now engroſſed by injuries more recent and violent, was willingly reconciled to them; and ſhe even received her brother with tenderneſs and affection. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were reinſtated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices alſo in Rizzio's murder applied to her for a pardon; but ſhe artfully delayed compliance, and perſuaded them that, ſo long as ſhe was detained in cuſtody, and was ſurrounded by guards, any deed which ſhe ſhould ſign would have no validity. Meanwhile ſhe had gained the confidence of her huſband by her perſuaſion and careſſes; and no ſooner were the guards withdrawn than ſhe engaged him to eſcape with her in the night-time, and take ſhelter in Dunbar. Many of her ſubjects here offered her their ſervices; and Mary, having collected an army, which the conſpirators had no power to reſiſt, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and diſtreſs. They made applications, however, to the earl of Bothwel, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, deſirous of ſtrengthening his party by the acceſſion of their intereſt, was able to pacify her reſentment; and he ſoon after procured them liberty to return into their own country.[f]

The vengeance of the queen of Scots was implacable againſt her huſband alone, whoſe perſon was before diſagreeable to her,

and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and duty, had now drawn on him the higheſt reſentment. She engaged him to diſown all connexions with the aſſaſſins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, even to publiſh a proclamation containing a falſehood ſo notorious to the whole world;[g] and, having thus made him expoſe himſelf to univerſal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him ever to acquire the confidence of any party,[h] ſhe threw him off with diſdain and indignation. As if ſhe had been making an eſcape from him, ſhe ſuddenly withdrew to Alloa, a ſeat of the earl of Marre's; and, when Henry followed her thither, ſhe ſuddenly returned to Edinburgh; and gave him every where the ſtrongeſt proofs of diſpleaſure, and even of antipathy. She encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him; and ſhe was pleaſed that his mean equipage and ſmall train of attendants ſhould draw on him the contempt of the very populace. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the caſtle of Edinburgh, which Mary had choſen for the place of her delivery. She there brought forth a ſon; and, as this was very important news to England, as well as to Scotland, ſhe immediately diſpatched ſir James Melvil to carry intelligence of the happy event to Elizabeth. Melvil tells us that this princeſs, the evening of his arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, and was diſplaying all that ſpirit and alacrity which uſually attended her on theſe occaſions: but, when news arrived of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped; ſhe ſunk into melancholy; ſhe reclined her head upon her arm; and complained to ſome of her attendants that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair ſon, while ſhe herſelf was but a barren ſtock. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambaſſador, ſhe reſumed her former diſſimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haſte he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and ex-

preſſed the utmoſt cordiality and friendſhip to her ſiſter.[j] Some time after ſhe diſpatched the earl of Bedford, with her kinſman George Cary, ſon of lord Hunſdon, in order to officiate at the baptiſm of the young prince; and ſhe ſent by them ſome magnificent preſents to the queen of Scots.

A PARLIAMENT.

THE birth of a ſon gave additional zeal to Mary's partiſans in England;[k] and even men of the moſt oppoſite parties began to cry aloud for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. Theſe humours broke out with great vehemence in a new ſeſſion of parliament, held after ſix prorogations. The houſe of peers, which had hitherto forborne to touch on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the houſe of commons ſoon after imitated the zeal of the lords. Molineux opened the matter in the lower houſe, and propoſed that the queſtion of the ſucceſſion and that of ſupply ſhould go hand in hand; as if it were intended to conſtrain the queen to a compliance with the requeſt of her parliament.[l] The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate. Sir Ralph Sadler told the houſe that he had heard the queen poſitively affirm that, for the good of her people, ſhe was determined to marry. Secretary Cecil and ſir Francis Knollys gave their teſtimony to the ſame purpoſe; as did alſo ſir Ambroſe Cave, chancellor of the duchy, and ſir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the houſehold.[m] Elizabeth's ambitious and maſculine character was ſo well known, that few members gave any credit to this intelligence; and it was conſidered merely as an artifice, by which ſhe endeavoured to retract that poſitive declaration which ſhe had made in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe meant to live and die a virgin. The miniſters, therefore, gained nothing farther by this piece of policy than only to engage the houſe, for the

ſake of decency, to join the queſtion of the queen's marriage with that of a ſettlement of the crown; and the commons were proceeding with great earneſtneſs in the debate, and had even appointed a committee to confer with the lords, when expreſs orders were brought them from Elizabeth not to proceed farther in the matter. Cecil told them that ſhe pledged to the houſe the word of a queen for her ſincerity in her intentions to marry; that the appointment of a ſucceſſor would be attended with great danger to her perſon; that ſhe herſelf had had experience, during the reign of her ſiſter, how much court was uſually paid to the next heir, and what dangerous ſacrifices men were commonly diſpoſed to make of their preſent duty to their future proſpects; and that ſhe was therefore determined to delay, till a more proper opportunity, the deciſion of that important queſtion.[n] The houſe was not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and ſtill leſs with the command, prohibiting them all debate on the ſubject. Paul Wentworth, a ſpirited member, went ſo far as to queſtion whether ſuch a prohibition were not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the houſe.[o] Some even ventured to violate that profound reſpect which had hitherto been preſerved to the queen; and they affirmed that ſhe was bound in duty, not only to provide for the happineſs of her ſubjects during her own life, but alſo to pay regard to their future ſecurity by fixing a ſucceſſor; that, by an oppoſite conduct, ſhe ſhewed herſelf the ſtep-mother, not the natural parent, of her people, and would ſeem deſirous that England ſhould no longer ſubſiſt than ſhe ſhould enjoy the glory and ſatisfaction of governing it; that none but timorous princes, or tyrants, or faint-hearted women, ever ſtood in fear of their ſucceſſors; and that the affections of the people were a firm and impregnable rampart to every ſovereign, who, laying aſide all artifice or by-ends, had courage and magnanimity to put his whole truſt in

that honourable and ſure defence.[p] The queen, hearing of theſe debates, ſent for the ſpeaker, and after reiterating her former prohibition, ſhe bade him inform the houſe that, if any member remained ſtill unſatisfied, he might appear before the privy council, and there give his reaſons.[q] As the members ſhewed a diſpoſition, notwithſtanding theſe peremptory orders, ſtill to proceed upon the queſtion, Elizabeth thought proper, by a meſſage, to revoke them, and to allow the houſe liberty of debate.[r] They were ſo mollified by this gracious condeſcenſion, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmneſs and temper; and they even voted her a ſupply, to be levied at three payments, of a ſubſidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. The queen ſoon after diſſolved the parliament, and told them, with ſome ſharpneſs in the concluſion, that their proceedings had contained much diſſimulation and artifice; that, under the plauſible pretences of marriage and ſucceſſion, many of them covered very malevolent intentions towards her; but that, however, ſhe reaped this advantage from the attempts of theſe men, that ſhe could now diſtinguiſh her friends from her enemies. 'But do you think,' added ſhe, 'that I am unmindful of your future ſecurity, or will be negligent in ſettling the ſucceſſion? That is the chief object of my concern, as I know myſelf to be liable to mortality. Or do you apprehend that I meant to encroach on your liberties? No; it was never my meaning; I only intended to ſtop you before you approached the precipice. All things have their time; and, though you may be bleſſed with a ſovereign more wiſe or more learned than I, yet I aſſure you that no one will ever rule over you who ſhall be more careful of your ſafety. And therefore, henceforward, whether I live to ſee the like aſſembly or no, or whoever holds the reins of government, let me warn you to beware of provoking your ſovereign's patience ſo far as you have done mine. But I ſhall now conclude

that, notwithſtanding the diſguſts I have received (for I mean not to part with you in anger), the greater part of you may aſſure themſelves that they go home [s] in their prince's good graces.'

Elizabeth carried farther her dignity on this occaſion. She had received the ſubſidy without any condition; but, as it was believed that the commons had given her that gratuity with a view of engaging her to yield to their requeſts, ſhe thought proper, on her refuſal, voluntarily to remit the third payment; and ſhe ſaid that money in her ſubjects' purſes was as good to her as in her own exchequer.[t]

But, though the queen was able to elude, for the preſent, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day in England; and, beſides the catholics, many of whom kept a treaſonable correſpondence with her, and were ready to riſe at her command,[u] the court itſelf of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partiſans. The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leiceſter, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, and moſt of the conſiderable men in England, except Cecil, ſeemed convinced of the neceſſity of declaring her the ſucceſſor. None but the more zealous proteſtants adhered either to the counteſs of Hertford, or to her aunt, Eleanor counteſs of Cumberland; and, as the marriage of the former ſeemed liable to ſome objections, and had been declared invalid, men were alarmed, even on that ſide, with the proſpect of new diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion. Mary's behaviour alſo, ſo moderate towards the proteſtants, and ſo gracious towards all men, had procured her univerſal reſpect;[w] and the public was willing to aſcribe any imprudences, into which ſhe had fallen, to her youth and inexperience. But all theſe flattering proſpects were blaſted by the ſubſequent incidents; where her egregious indiſcretions, ſhall I ſay, or atrocious crimes,

threw her from the height of her proſperity, and involved her in infamy and in ruin.

MURDER OF DARNLEY. 1567.

THE earl of Bothwel was of a conſiderable family and power in Scotland; and, though not diſtinguiſhed by any talents either of a civil or military nature, he had made a figure in that party which oppoſed the greatneſs of the earl of Murray, and the more rigid reformers. He was a man of profligate manners; had involved his opulent fortune in great debts; and even reduced himſelf to beggary by his profuſe expenſes;[x] and ſeemed to have no reſource but in deſperate counſels and enterpriſes. He had been accuſed more than once of an attempt to aſſaſſinate Murray; and, though the frequency of theſe accuſations on all ſides diminiſh ſomewhat the credit due to any particular imputation, they prove ſufficiently the prevalence of that deteſtable practice in Scotland, and may in that view ſerve to render ſuch rumours the more credible. This man had of late acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and all her meaſures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were ſpread of more particular intimacies between them; and theſe reports gained ground from the continuance, or rather increaſe, of her hatred towards her huſband.[y] That young prince was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſperation, by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once reſolved to fly ſecretly into France or Spain, and had even provided a veſſel for that purpoſe.[z] Some of the moſt conſiderable nobility, on the other hand, obſerving her rooted averſion to him, had propoſed ſome expedients for a divorce; and, though Mary is ſaid to have ſpoken honourably on the occaſion, and to have embraced the propoſal no farther than it ſhould be found con-

ſiſtent with her own honour and her ſon's legitimacy,[a] men were inclined to believe that the difficulty of finding proper means for effecting that purpoſe was the real cauſe of laying aſide all farther thoughts of it. So far were the ſuſpicions againſt her carried, that when Henry, diſcouraged with the continual proofs of her hatred, left the court and retired to Glaſgow, an illneſs of an extraordinary nature, with which he was ſeized immediately on his arrival in that place, was univerſally aſcribed by her enemies to a doſe of poiſon, which, it was pretended, ſhe had adminiſtered to him.

While affairs were in this ſituation, all thoſe who wiſhed well to her character, or to public tranquillity, were extremely pleaſed, and ſomewhat ſurpriſed, to hear that a friendſhip was again conciliated between them; that ſhe had taken a journey to Glaſgow on purpoſe to viſit him during his ſickneſs; that ſhe behaved towards him with great tenderneſs; that ſhe had brought him along with her, and that ſhe appeared thenceforth determined to live with him on a footing more ſuitable to the connexions between them. Henry, naturally uxorious, and not diſtruſting this ſudden reconciliation, put himſelf implicitly into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived in the palace of Holyrood-houſe; but, as the ſituation of the place was low, and the concourſe of people about the court was neceſſarily attended with noiſe, which might diſturb him in his preſent infirm ſtate of health, theſe reaſons were aſſigned for fitting up an apartment for him in a ſolitary houſe, at ſome diſtance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindneſs and attachment; ſhe converſed cordially with him; and ſhe lay ſome nights in a room below his; but, on the ninth of February, ſhe told him that ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was there to be celebrated in her preſence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole

town was much alarmed at hearing a great noiſe; and was ſtill more aſtoniſhed when it was diſcovered that the noiſe came from the king's houſe, which was blown up by gunpowder; that his dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks either of fire, contuſion, or violence, appeared upon it.[b]

No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture ſoon pointed towards the earl of Bothwel as the author of the crime:[c] but, as his favour with Mary was viſible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his ſentiments; and all men remained in ſilence and mute aſtoniſhment. Voices, however, were heard in the ſtreets, during the darkneſs of the night, proclaiming Bothwel, and even Mary herſelf, to be murderers of the king; bills were ſecretly affixed on the walls to the ſame purpoſe; offers were made that, upon giving proper ſecurities, his guilt ſhould be openly proved. But, after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward and indemnity to any one that would diſcover the author of that villany, greater vigilance was employed in ſearching out the ſpreaders of the libels and reports againſt Bothwel and the queen than in tracing the contrivers of the king's aſſaſſination, or detecting the regicides.[d]

The earl of Lenox, who lived at a diſtance from court in poverty and contempt, was rouſed by the report of his ſon's murder, and wrote to the queen, imploring ſpeedy juſtice againſt the aſſaſſins; among whom he named the earl of Bothwel, ſir James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his brother, David Chalmers, and four others of the queen's houſehold; all of them perſons who had been mentioned in the bills affixed to the walls at Edinburgh.[e] Mary took his demand of ſpeedy juſtice in a very literal ſenſe; and, allowing only fifteen days for the examination of this important affair, ſhe ſent a citation to Lenox, requiring

him to appear in court, and prove his charge againſt [f] Bothwel. This nobleman, meanwhile, and all the other perſons accuſed by Lenox, enjoyed their full liberty;[g] Bothwel himſelf was continually ſurrounded with armed men;[h] took his place in council;[i] lived during ſome time in the houſe with Mary;[k] and ſeemed to poſſeſs all his wonted confidence and familiarity with her. Even the caſtle of Edinburgh, a place of great conſequence in this critical time, was intruſted to him, and, under him, to his creature ſir James Balfour, who had himſelf been publicly charged as an accomplice in the king's murder.[l] Lenox, who had come as far as Stirling with a view of appearing at the trial, was informed of all theſe circumſtances; and, reflecting on the ſmall train which attended him, he began to entertain very juſt apprehenſions from the power, inſolence, and temerity, of his enemy. He wrote to Mary, deſiring that the day of trial might be prorogued; and conjured her, by all the regard which ſhe bore to her own honour, to employ more leiſure and deliberation in determining a queſtion of ſuch extreme moment.[m] No regard was paid to his application: the jury was encloſed, of which the carl of Caithneſs was chancellor; and, though Lenox, foreſeeing this precipitation, had ordered Cuningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and proteſt, in his name, againſt the acquittal of the criminal, the jury proceeded to a verdict.[n] The verdict was ſuch as it behoved them to give, where neither accuſer nor witneſs appeared; and Bothwel was abſolved from the king's murder. The jury, however, apprehenſive that their verdict would give great ſcandal, and perhaps expoſe them afterwards to ſome danger, entered a proteſt, in which they repreſented the neceſſity of their proceedings.[o] It is remarkable that the indictment was laid againſt Bothwel for committing the crime on the ninth of February, not the tenth, the real day on which Henry was aſſaſſinated.[p] The interpretation generally put

upon this error (too groſs, it was thought, to have proceeded from miſtake) was, that the ſecret council, by whom Mary was governed, not truſting entirely to precipitation, violence, and authority, had provided this plea, by which they enſured, at all adventures, a plauſible pretence for acquitting Bothwel.

Two days after this extraordinary tranſaction a parliament was held; and, though the verdict in favour of Bothwel was attended with ſuch circumſtances as ſtrongly confirmed, rather than diminiſhed, the general opinion of his guilt, he was the perſon choſen to carry the royal ſceptre on the firſt meeting of the national aſſembly.[q] In this parliament a rigorous act was made againſt thoſe who ſet up defamatory bills; but no notice was taken of the king's murder.[r] The favour which Mary openly bore to Bothwel, kept every one in awe; and the effects of this terror appeared more plainly in another tranſaction, which enſued immediately upon the diſſolution of the parliament. A bond or aſſociation was framed; in which the ſubſcribers, after relating the acquittal of Bothwel by a legal trial, and mentioning a farther offer, which he had made, to prove his innocence by ſingle combat, oblige themſelves, in caſe any perſon ſhould afterwards impute to him the king's murder, to defend him with their whole power againſt ſuch calumniators. After this promiſe, which implied no great aſſurance in Bothwel of his own innocence, the ſubſcribers mentioned the neceſſity of their queen's marriage, in order to ſupport the government; and they recommended Bothwel to her as a huſband.[s] This paper was ſubſcribed by all the conſiderable nobility there preſent. In a country divided by violent factions, ſuch a concurrence in favour of one nobleman, nowiſe diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, except by his flagitious conduct, could never have been obtained, had not every one been certain, at leaſt firmly perſuaded, that Mary was fully determined on this meaſure.[t] Nor would ſuch a motive have

ſufficed to influence men, commonly ſo ſtubborn and intractable, had they not been taken by ſurpriſe, been ignorant of each other's ſentiments, and overawed by the preſent power of the court, and by the apprehenſions of farther violence, from perſons ſo little governed by any principles of honour and humanity. Even with all theſe circumſtances, the ſubſcription to this paper may juſtly be regarded as a reproach to the nation.

The ſubſequent meaſures of Bothwel were equally precipitate and audacious. Mary having gone to Stirling, to pay a viſit to her ſon, he aſſembled a body of eight hundred horſe, on pretence of purſuing ſome robbers on the borders, and, having waylaid her on her return, he ſeized her perſon near Edinburgh, and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed deſign of forcing her to yield to his purpoſe. Sir James Melvil, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and ſays not that he ſaw any ſigns of reluctance or conſtraint: he was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwel's officers, that the whole tranſaction was managed in concert with her.[u] A woman, indeed, of that ſpirit and reſolution which is acknowledged to belong to Mary, does not uſually, on theſe occaſions, give ſuch marks of oppoſition to real violence as can appear anywiſe doubtful or ambiguous. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to farther trial, ſent her a private meſſage; in which they told her that, if in reality ſhe lay under force, they would uſe all their efforts to reſcue her. Her anſwer was, that ſhe had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever ſince her arrival had been ſo well treated that ſhe willingly remained with Bothwel.[w] No one gave himſelf thenceforth any concern to relieve her from a captivity which was believed to proceed entirely from her own approbation and connivance.

This unuſual conduct was at firſt aſcribed to Mary's ſenſe of the infamy attending her purpoſed marriage, and her deſire of

finding ſome colour to gloſs over the irregularity of her conduct. But a pardon given to Bothwel a few days after made the public carry their conjectures ſomewhat farther. In this deed Bothwel received a pardon for the violence committed on the queen's perſon, and for all other crimes: a clauſe by which the murder of the king was indirectly forgiven. The rape was then conjectured to have been only a contrivance, in order to afford a pretence for indirectly remitting a crime, of which it would have appeared ſcandalous to make openly any mention.*

Theſe events paſſed with ſuch rapidity that men had no leiſure to admire ſufficiently one incident, when they were ſurpriſed with a new one equally rare and uncommon. There ſtill, however, remained one difficulty, which it was not eaſy to foreſee how the queen and Bothwel, determined as they were to execute their ſhameful purpoſe, could find expedients to overcome. The man who had procured the ſubſcription of the nobility, recommending him as a huſband to the queen, and who had acted this ſeeming violence on her perſon in order to force her conſent, had been married two years before to another woman; to a woman of merit, of a noble family, ſiſter to the earl of Huntley. But perſons blinded by paſſion, and infatuated with crimes, ſoon ſhook off all appearance of decency. A ſuit was commenced for a divorce between Bothwel and his wife; and this ſuit was opened at the ſame inſtant in two different, or rather oppoſite, courts; in the court of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, which was popiſh, and governed itſelf by the canon law; and in the new conſiſtorial or commiſſariot court, which was proteſtant, and was regulated by the principles of the reformed teachers. The plea, advanced in each court, was ſo calculated as to ſuit the principles which there prevailed: in the archbiſhop's court the pretence of conſanguinity was employed, becauſe Bothwel was related to his wife in the fourth degree; in

the commiſſariot court the accuſation of adultery was made uſe of againſt him. The parties too, who applied for the divorce, were different in the different courts: Bothwel was the perſon who ſued in the former; his wife in the latter. And the ſuit in both courts was opened, pleaded, examined, and decided, with the utmoſt precipitation; and a ſentence of divorce was pronounced in four days.[y]

The divorce being thus obtained, it was thought proper that Mary ſhould be conducted to Edinburgh, and ſhould there appear before the courts of judicature, and ſhould acknowledge herſelf reſtored to entire freedom. This was underſtood to be contrived in a view of obviating all doubts with regard to the validity of her marriage. Orders were then given to publiſh in the church the banns between the queen and the duke of Orkney; for that was the title which he now bore; and Craig, a miniſter of Edinburgh, was applied to for that purpoſe. This clergyman, not content with having refuſed compliance, publicly in his ſermons condemned the marriage, and exhorted all who had acceſs to the queen to give her their advice againſt ſo ſcandalous an alliance. Being called before the council to anſwer for this liberty, he ſhewed a courage which might cover all the nobles with ſhame on account of their tameneſs and ſervility. He ſaid that, by the rules of the church, the earl of Bothwel, being convicted of adultery, could not be permitted to marry; that the divorce between him and his former wife was plainly procured by colluſion, as appeared by the precipitation of the ſentence, and the ſudden concluſion of his marriage with the queen; and that all the ſuſpicions which prevailed, with regard to the king's murder, and the queen's concurrence in the former rape, would thence receive undoubted confirmation. He therefore exhorted Bothwel, who was preſent, no longer to perſevere in his preſent criminal enterpriſes; and, turning his diſ-

courſe to the other counſellors, he charged them to employ all their influence with the queen, in order to divert her from a meaſure which would load her with eternal infamy and diſhonour. Not ſatisfied even with this admonition, he took the firſt opportunity of informing the public, from the pulpit, of the whole tranſaction, and expreſſed to them his fears that, notwithſtanding all remonſtrances, their ſovereign was ſtill obſtinately bent on her fatal purpoſe. 'For himſelf,' he ſaid, 'he had already diſcharged his conſcience, and yet again would take heaven and earth to witneſs that he abhorred and deteſted that marriage as ſcandalous and hateful in the ſight of mankind: but, ſince the great, as he perceived, either by their flattery or ſilence, gave countenance to the meaſure, he beſought the faithful to pray fervently to the Almighty that a reſolution, taken contrary to all law, reaſon, and good conſcience, might, by the divine bleſſing, be turned to the comfort and benefit of the church and kingdom.' Theſe ſpeeches offended the court extremely; and Craig was anew ſummoned before the council, to anſwer for his temerity in thus paſſing the bounds of his commiſſion. But he told them that the bounds of his commiſſion were the word of God, good laws, and natural reaſon; and, were the queen's marriage tried by any of theſe ſtandards, it would appear infamous and diſhonourable, and would be ſo eſteemed by the whole world. The council were ſo overawed by this heroic behaviour in a private clergyman, that they diſmiſſed him without farther cenſure or puniſhment.[z]

QUEEN OF SCOTS MARRIES BOTHWEL.

But, though this tranſaction might have recalled Bothwel and the queen of Scots from their infatuation, and might have inſtructed them in the diſpoſitions of the people, as well as in their

own inability to oppoſe them, they were ſtill reſolute to ruſh forward to their own manifeſt deſtruction. The marriage was ſolemnized, on the fifteenth of May, by the biſhop of Orkney, a proteſtant, who was afterwards depoſed by the church for this ſcandalous compliance. Few of the nobility appeared at the ceremony: they had, moſt of them, either from ſhame or fear, retired to their own houſes. The French ambaſſador, Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be prevailed on, though a dependant of the houſe of Guiſe, to countenance the marriage by his preſence.[a] Elizabeth remonſtrated, by friendly letters and meſſages, againſt the marriage;[b] the court of France made like oppoſition: but Mary, though on all other occaſions ſhe was extremely obſequious to the advice of her relations in that country, was here determined to pay no regard to their opinion.

The news of theſe tranſactions, being carried to foreign countries, filled Europe with amazement, and threw infamy, not only on the principal actors in them, but alſo on the whole nation, who ſeemed, by their ſubmiſſion and ſilence, and even by their declared approbation, to give their ſanction to theſe ſcandalous practices.[c] The Scots, who reſided abroad, met with ſuch reproaches, that they durſt nowhere appear in public; and they earneſtly exhorted their countrymen at home to free them from the public odium by bringing to condign puniſhment the authors of ſuch atrocious crimes. This intelligence, with a little more leiſure for reflection, rouſed men from their lethargy; and the rumours which, from the very beginning,[d] had been ſpread againſt Mary, as if ſhe had concurred in the king's murder, ſeemed now, by the ſubſequent tranſactions, to have received a ſtrong confirmation and authority. It was every where ſaid that, even though no particular and direct proofs had as yet been pronounced of the queen's guilt, the whole tenor of her late

conduct was ſufficient, not only to beget ſuſpicion, but to produce entire conviction againſt her: that her ſudden reſolution of being reconciled to her huſband, whom before ſhe had long and juſtly hated; her bringing him to court, from which ſhe had baniſhed him by neglects and rigours; her fitting up ſeparate apartments for him; were all of them circumſtances which, though trivial in themſelves, yet, being compared with the ſubſequent events, bore a very unfavourable aſpect for her: that the leaſt which, after the king's murder, might have been expected in her ſituation, was a more than uſual caution in her meaſures, and an extreme anxiety to puniſh the real aſſaſſins, in order to free herſelf from all reproach and ſuſpicion: that no woman, who had any regard to her character, would allow a man, publicly accuſed of her huſband's murder, ſo much as to approach her preſence, far leſs give him a ſhare in her counſels, and endow him with favour and authority: that an acquittal, merely in the abſence of accuſers, was very ill fitted to ſatisfy the public; eſpecially if that abſence proceeded from a deſigned precipitation of the ſentence, and from the terror which her known friendſhip for the criminal had infuſed into every one: that the very mention of her marriage to ſuch a perſon, in ſuch circumſtances, was horrible; and the contrivances of extorting a conſent from the nobility, and of concerting a rape, were groſs artifices, more proper to diſcover her guilt than prove her innocence: that where a woman thus ſhews a conſciouſneſs of merited reproach, and, inſtead of correcting, provides only thin gloſſes to cover her exceptionable conduct, ſhe betrays a neglect of fame, which muſt either be the effect or the cauſe of the moſt ſhameful enormities: that to eſpouſe a man who had, a few days before, been ſo ſcandalouſly divorced from his wife; who, to ſay the leaſt, was believed to have, a few months before, aſſaſſinated her huſband, was ſo contrary to the plaineſt rules of behaviour, that no

pretence of indiſcretion or imprudence could account for ſuch a conduct: that a woman, who ſo ſoon after her huſband's death, though not attended with any extraordinary circumſtances, contracts a marriage, which might in itſelf be the moſt blameleſs, cannot eſcape ſevere cenſure; but one who overlooks, for her pleaſure, ſo many other weighty conſiderations, was equally capable, in gratifying her appetites, to neglect every regard to honour and to humanity: that Mary was not ignorant of the prevailing opinion of the public with regard to her own guilt, and of the inferences which would every where be drawn from her conduct; and therefore, if ſhe ſtill continued to purſue meaſures which gave ſuch juſt offence, ſhe ratified, by her actions, as much as ſhe could by the moſt formal confeſſion, all the ſurmiſes and imputations of her enemies: that a prince was here murdered in the face of the world; Bothwel alone was ſuſpected and accuſed; if he were innocent, nothing could abſolve him, either in Mary's eyes or thoſe of the public, but the detection and conviction of the real aſſaſſin; yet no inquiry was made to that purpoſe, though a parliament had been aſſembled; the ſovereign and wife was here plainly ſilent from guilt, the people from terror: that the only circumſtance which oppoſed all theſe preſumptions, or rather proofs, was the benignity and goodneſs of her preceding behaviour, which ſeemed to remove her from all ſuſpicions of ſuch atrocious inhumanity; but that the characters of men were extremely variable, and perſons guilty of the worſt actions were not always of the worſt and moſt criminal diſpoſitions: that a woman, who, in a critical and dangerous moment, had ſacrificed her honour to a man of abandoned principle, might thenceforth be led blindfold by him to the commiſſion of the moſt enormous crimes, and was in reality no longer at her own diſpoſal: and that, though one ſuppoſition was ſtill left to alleviate her blame; namely, that Bothwel, preſuming on her af-

fection towards him, had of himſelf committed the crime, and had never communicated it to her; yet ſuch a ſudden and paſſionate love to a man, whom ſhe had long known, could not eaſily be accounted for without ſuppoſing ſome degree of preceding guilt; and, as it appeared that ſhe was not afterwards reſtrained, either by ſhame or prudence, from incurring the higheſt reproach and danger, it was not likely that a ſenſe of duty or humanity would have a more powerful influence over her.

Theſe were the ſentiments which prevailed throughout Scotland; and, as the proteſtant teachers, who had great authority, had long born an animoſity to Mary, the opinion of her guilt was by that means the more widely diffuſed, and made the deeper impreſſion on the people. Some attempts made by Bothwel, and, as is pretended, with her conſent, to get the young prince into his power, excited the moſt ſerious attention; and the principal nobility, even many of thoſe who had formerly been conſtrained to ſign the application in favour of Bothwel's marriage, met at Stirling, and formed an aſſociation for protecting the prince, and puniſhing the king's murderers.[e] The earl of Athole himſelf, a known catholic, was the firſt author of this confederacy: the earls of Argyle, Morton, Marre, Glencarne, the lords Boyd, Lindeſey, Hume, Semple, Kirkaldy of Grange, Tulibardine, and ſecretary Liddington, entered zealouſly into it. The earl of Murray, foreſeeing ſuch turbulent times, and being deſirous to keep free of theſe dangerous factions, had, ſome time before, deſired and obtained Mary's permiſſion to retire into France.

INSURRECTIONS IN SCOTLAND.

Lord Hume was firſt in arms; and, leading a body of eight hundred horſe, ſuddenly environed the queen of Scots and Both-

wel in the caſtle of Borthwick. They found means of making their eſcape to Dunbar, while the confederate lords were aſſembling their troops at Edinburgh, and taking meaſures to effect their purpoſe. Had Bothwel been ſo prudent as to keep within the fortreſs of Dunbar, his enemies muſt have diſperſed for want of pay and ſubſiſtence; but, hearing that the aſſociated lords were fallen into diſtreſs, he was ſo raſh as to take the field, and advance towards them. The armies met at Carberry-hill, about ſix miles from Edinburgh; and Mary ſoon became ſenſible that her own troops diſapproved of her cauſe, and were averſe to ſpill their blood in the quarrel.[f] After ſome bravadoes of Bothwel, where he diſcovered very little courage, ſhe ſaw no reſource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, and of putting herſelf, upon ſome general promiſes, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh amidſt the inſults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes; and even held before her eyes, which way ſoever ſhe turned, a banner, on which were painted the murder of her huſband [g] and the diſtreſs of her infant ſon. Mary, overwhelmed with her calamities, had recourſe to tears and lamentations. Meanwhile Bothwel, during her conference with Grange, fled unattended to Dunbar; and, fitting out a few ſmall ſhips, ſet ſail for the Orkneys, where he ſubſiſted during ſome time by piracy. He was purſued thither by Grange, and his ſhip was taken, with ſeveral of his ſervants, who afterwards diſcovered all the circumſtances of the king's murder, and were puniſhed for the crime.[h] Bothwel himſelf eſcaped in a boat, and found means to get a paſſage to Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died miſerably about ten years after: an end worthy of his flagitious conduct and behaviour.

IMPRISONMENT OF MARY.

THE queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with ſuch treatment as a ſovereign may naturally expect from ſubjects who have their future ſecurity to provide for, as well as their preſent animoſity to gratify. It is pretended that ſhe behaved with a ſpirit very little ſuitable to her condition, avowed her inviolable attachment to Bothwel,[i] and even wrote him a letter, which the lords intercepted, wherein ſhe declared that ſhe would endure any extremity, nay reſign her dignity and crown itſelf, rather than relinquiſh his affections.[k] The malcontents, finding the danger to which they were expoſed in caſe Mary ſhould finally prevail, thought themſelves obliged to proceed with rigour againſt her; and they ſent her next day under a guard to the caſtle of Lochlevin, ſituated in a lake of that name. The miſtreſs of the houſe was mother to the earl of Murray; and, as ſhe pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, ſhe naturally bore an animoſity to Mary, and treated her with the utmoſt harſhneſs and ſeverity.

Elizabeth, who was fully informed of all theſe incidents, ſeemed touched with compaſſion towards the unfortunate queen: and all her fears and jealouſies being now laid aſleep, by the conſideration of that ruin and infamy in which Mary's conduct had involved her, ſhe began to reflect on the inſtability of human affairs, the precarious ſtate of royal grandeur, the danger of encouraging rebellious ſubjects; and ſhe reſolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinſwoman. She ſent ſir Nicholas Throgmorton ambaſſador to Scotland, in order to remonſtrate both with Mary and the aſſociated lords; and ſhe gave him inſtructions, which, though mixed with ſome lofty pretenſions, were full of that good ſenſe which was

ſo natural to her, and of that generoſity which the preſent intereſting conjuncture had called forth. She empowered him to declare, in her name, to Mary, that the late conduct of that princeſs, ſo enormous, and in every reſpect ſo unjuſtifiable, had given her the higheſt offence; and, though ſhe felt the movements of pity towards her, ſhe had once determined never to interpoſe in her affairs, either by advice or aſſiſtance, but to abandon her entirely, as a perſon whoſe condition was totally deſperate, and honour irretrievable: that ſhe was well aſſured that other foreign princes, Mary's near relations, had embraced the ſame reſolution; but, for her part, the late events had touched her heart with more tender ſympathy, and had made her adopt meaſures more favourable to the liberty and intereſts of the unhappy queen: that ſhe was determined not to ſee her oppreſſed by her rebellious ſubjects, but would employ all her good offices, and even her power, to redeem her from captivity, and place her in ſuch a condition as would at once be compatible with her dignity, and the ſafety of her ſubjects: that ſhe conjured her to lay aſide all thoughts of revenge, except againſt the murderers of her huſband; and, as ſhe herſelf was his near relation, ſhe was better entitled than the ſubjects of Mary to interpoſe her authority on that head; and ſhe therefore beſought that princeſs, if ſhe had any regard to her own honour and ſafety, not to oppoſe ſo juſt and reaſonable a demand: that, after thoſe two points were provided for, her own liberty, and the puniſhment of her huſband's aſſaſſins, the ſafety of her infant ſon was next to be conſidered; and there ſeemed no expedient more proper for that purpoſe than ſending him to be educated in England: and that, beſides the ſecurity which would attend his removal from a ſcene of faction and convulſions, there were many other beneficial conſequences which it was eaſy to foreſee as the reſult of his education in that country.[1]

The remonſtrances, which Throgmorton was inſtructed to make to the aſſociated lords, were entirely conformable to theſe ſentiments which Elizabeth entertained in Mary's favour. She empowered him to tell them that, whatever blame ſhe might throw on Mary's conduct, any oppoſition to their ſovereign was totally unjuſtifiable, and incompatible with all order and good government: that it belonged not to them to reform, much leſs to puniſh, the mal-adminiſtration of their prince; and the only arms, which ſubjects could in any caſe lawfully employ againſt the ſupreme authority, were entreaties, counſels, and repreſentations: that, if theſe expedients failed, they were next to appeal by their prayers to Heaven; and to wait with patience till the Almighty, in whoſe hands are the hearts of princes, ſhould be pleaſed to turn them to juſtice and to mercy: that ſhe inculcated not this doctrine becauſe ſhe herſelf was intereſted in its obſervance; but becauſe it was univerſally received in all well governed ſtates, and was eſſential to the preſervation of civil ſociety: that ſhe required them to reſtore their queen to liberty; and promiſed, in that caſe, to concur with them in all proper expedients for regulating the government, for puniſhing the king's murderers, and for guarding the life and liberty of the infant prince: and that, if the ſervices which ſhe had lately rendered the Scottiſh nation, in protecting them from foreign uſurpation, were duly conſidered by them, they would repoſe confidence in her good offices, and would eſteem themſelves blame-worthy in having hitherto made no application to her.[m]

Elizabeth, beſides theſe remonſtrances, ſent by Throgmorton ſome articles of accommodation, which he was to propoſe to both parties as expedients for the ſettlement of public affairs; and, though theſe articles contained ſome important reſtraints on the ſovereign power, they were in the main calculated for Mary's advantage, and were ſufficiently indulgent to her.[n] The

aſſociated lords, who determined to proceed with greater ſeverity, were apprehenſive of Elizabeth's partiality; and, being ſenſible that Mary would take courage from the protection of that powerful princeſs,[o] they thought proper, after ſeveral affected delays, to refuſe the Engliſh ambaſſador all acceſs to her. There were four different ſchemes propoſed in Scotland for the treatment of the captive queen: one, that ſhe ſhould be reſtored to her authority under very ſtrict limitations: the ſecond, that ſhe ſhould be obliged to reſign her crown to the prince, be baniſhed the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England; with aſſurances from the ſovereign, in whoſe dominions ſhe ſhould reſide, that ſhe ſhould make no attempts to the diſturbance of the eſtabliſhed government: the third, that ſhe ſhould be publicly tried for her crimes, of which her enemies pretended to have undoubted proof, and be ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment: the fourth was ſtill more ſevere, and required that, after her trial and condemnation, capital puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon her.[p] Throgmorton ſupported the mildeſt propoſal; but, though he promiſed his miſtreſs's guarantee for the performance of articles, threatened the ruling party with immediate vengeance in caſe of refuſal,[q] and warned them not to draw on themſelves, by their violence, the public reproach, which now lay upon their queen, he found that, excepting ſecretary Lidington, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders. All counſels ſeemed to tend towards the more ſevere expedients; and the preachers, in particular, drawing their examples from the rigorous maxims of the Old Teſtament, which can only be warranted by particular revelations, inflamed the minds of the people againſt their unhappy ſovereign.[r]

There were ſeveral pretenders to the regency of the young prince after the intended depoſition of Mary. The earl of Lenox

claimed that authority as grandfather to the prince; the duke of Chatelrault, who was abſent in France, had pretenſions as next heir to the crown: but the greateſt number of the aſſociated lords inclined to the earl of Murray, in whoſe capacity they had entire truſt, and who poſſeſſed the confidence of the preachers and more zealous reformers. All meaſures being therefore concerted, three inſtruments were ſent to Mary by the hands of lord Lindeſey and ſir Robert Melvil; by one of which ſhe was to reſign the crown in favour of her ſon; by another to appoint Murray regent; by the third to make a council, which ſhould adminiſter the government till his arrival in Scotland. The queen of Scots, ſeeing no proſpect of relief, lying juſtly under apprehenſions for her life, and believing that no deed which ſhe executed during her captivity could be valid, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effuſion of tears, to ſign theſe three inſtruments; and ſhe took not the trouble of inſpecting[s] any one of them. In conſequence of this forced reſignation, the young prince was proclaimed king by the name of James VI. He was ſoon after crowned at Stirling, and the earl of Morton took, in his name, the coronation oath; in which a promiſe to extirpate hereſy was not forgotten. Some republican pretenſions, in favour of the people's power, were countenanced in this ceremony;[t] and a coin was ſoon after ſtruck, on which the famous ſaying of Trajan was inſcribed, 'Pro me; ſi merear, in me:' For me; if I deſerve it, againſt me.[u] Throgmorton had orders from his miſtreſs not to aſſiſt at the coronation of the king of Scots.[w]

The council of regency had not long occaſion to exerciſe their authority. The earl of Murray arrived from France, and took poſſeſſion of his high office. He paid a viſit to the captive queen; and ſpoke to her in a manner which better ſuited her paſt conduct than her preſent condition. This harſh treatment quite extinguiſhed in her breaſt any remains of affection towards

him.[x] Murray proceeded afterwards to break, in a more public manner, all terms of decency with her. He ſummoned a parliament; and that aſſembly, after voting that ſhe was undoubtedly an accomplice in her huſband's murder, condemned her to impriſonment, ratified her demiſſion of the crown, and acknowledged her ſon for king, and Murray for regent.[y] The regent, a man of vigour and abilities, employed himſelf ſucceſsfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed ſir James Balfour to ſurrender the caſtle of Edinburgh; he conſtrained the garriſon of Dunbar to open their gates; and he demoliſhed that fortreſs.

But, though every thing thus bore a favourable aſpect to the new government, and all men ſeemed to acquieſce in Murray's authority, a violent revolution, however neceſſary, can never be effected without great diſcontents; and it was not likely that, in a country where the government, in its moſt ſettled ſtate, poſſeſſed a very disjointed authority, a new eſtabliſhment ſhould meet with no interruption or diſturbance. Few conſiderable men of the nation ſeemed willing to ſupport Mary ſo long as Bothwel was preſent; but the removal of that obnoxious nobleman had altered the ſentiments of many. The duke of Chatelrault, being diſappointed of the regency, bore no good-will to Murray; and the ſame ſentiments were embraced by all his numerous retainers: ſeveral of the nobility, finding that others had taken the lead among the aſſociators, formed a faction apart, and oppoſed the prevailing power; and, beſides their being moved by ſome remains of duty and affection towards Mary, the malcontent lords, obſerving every thing carried to extremity againſt her, were naturally led to embrace her cauſe, and ſhelter themſelves under her authority. All who retained any propenſity to the catholic religion were induced to join this party; and even the people in general, though they had formerly either deteſted Mary's crimes, or blamed her imprudence, were now inclined

to compaſſionate her preſent ſituation, and lamented that a perſon, poſſeſſed of ſo many amiable accompliſhments, joined to ſuch high dignity, ſhould be treated with ſuch extreme ſeverity.[z] Animated by all theſe motives, many of the principal nobility, now adherents to the queen of Scots, met at Hamilton, and concerted meaſures for ſupporting the cauſe of that princeſs.

While theſe humours were in fermentation Mary was employed in contrivances for effecting her eſcape; and ſhe engaged, by her charms and careſſes, a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochlevin, to aſſiſt her in that enterpriſe. She even went ſo far as to give him hopes of eſpouſing her, after her marriage with Bothwel ſhould be diſſolved on the plea of force; and ſhe propoſed this expedient to the regent, who rejected it. Douglas, however, perſevered in his endeavours to free her from captivity; and, having all opportunities of acceſs to the houſe, he was at laſt ſucceſsful in the undertaking. He conveyed her in diſguiſe into a ſmall boat, and himſelf rowed her aſhore. She haſtened to Hamilton; and, the news of her arrival in that place being immediately ſpread abroad, many of the nobility flocked to her with their forces. A bond of aſſociation for her defence was ſigned by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglington, Crawford, Caſſilis, Rothes, Montroſe, Sutherland, Errol, nine biſhops and nine barons, beſides many of the moſt conſiderable gentry:[a] and in a few days an army, to the number of ſix thouſand men, was aſſembled under her ſtandard.

Elizabeth was no ſooner informed of Mary's eſcape than ſhe diſcovered her reſolution of perſevering in the ſame generous and friendly meaſures which ſhe had hitherto purſued. If ſhe had not employed force againſt the regent, during the impriſonment of that princeſs, ſhe had been chiefly withheld by the fear

Q. MARY'S ESCAPE FROM LOCHLEVEN CASTLE

of puſhing him to greater extremities againſt her;[b] but ſhe had propoſed to the court of France an expedient, which, though leſs violent, would have been no leſs effectual for her ſervice: ſhe deſired that France and England ſhould, by concert, cut off all commerce with the Scots till they ſhould do juſtice to their injured ſovereign.[c] She now diſpatched Leighton into Scotland to offer both her good offices, and the aſſiſtance of her forces, to Mary; but, as ſhe apprehended the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, ſhe deſired that the controverſy between the queen of Scots and her ſubjects might by that princeſs be referred entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign ſuccours ſhould be introduced into Scotland.[d]

MARY FLIES INTO ENGLAND. 1568.

But Elizabeth had not leiſure to exert fully her efforts in favour of Mary. The regent made haſte to aſſemble forces; and, notwithſtanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field againſt her. A battle was fought at Langſide near Glaſgow, which was entirely deciſive in favour of the regent; and, though Murray, after his victory, ſtopped the bloodſhed, yet was the action followed by a total diſperſion of the queen's party. That unhappy princeſs fled ſouthwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England. She here deliberated concerning her next meaſures, which would probably prove ſo important to her future happineſs or miſery. She found it impoſſible to remain in her own kingdom: ſhe had an averſion, in her preſent wretched condition, to return into France, where ſhe had formerly appeared with ſo much ſplendour; and ſhe was not, beſides, provided with a veſſel which could ſafely convey her thither: the late generous behaviour of

Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and even aſſiſtance, from that quarter;[e] and, as the preſent fears from her domeſtic enemies were the moſt urgent, ſhe overlooked all other conſiderations, and embraced the reſolution of taking ſhelter in England. She embarked on board a fiſhing boat in Galloway, and landed the ſame day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carliſle; whence ſhe immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to London, notifying her arrival, deſiring leave to viſit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in conſequence of former profeſſions of friendſhip made her by that princeſs.

Elizabeth now found herſelf in a ſituation when it was become neceſſary to take ſome deciſive reſolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and, as ſhe had hitherto, contrary to the opinion of Cecil, attended more to the motives of generoſity than of policy,[f] ſhe was engaged by that prudent miniſter to weigh anew all the conſiderations which occurred in this critical conjuncture. He repreſented that the party which had dethroned Mary, and had at preſent aſſumed the government of Scotland, was always attached to the Engliſh alliance, and was engaged, by all the motives of religion and of intereſt, to perſevere in their connexion with Elizabeth: that, though Murray and his friends might complain of ſome unkind uſage during their baniſhment in England, they would eaſily forget theſe grounds of quarrel when they reflected that Elizabeth was the only ally on whom they could ſafely rely, and that their own queen, by her attachment to the catholic faith, and by her other connexions, excluded them entirely from the friendſhip of France, and even from that of Spain: that Mary, on the other hand, even before her violent breach with her proteſtant ſubjects, was in ſecret entirely governed by the counſels of the houſe of Guiſe; much more would ſhe implicitly comply with their views when, by her own ill conduct, the power of that

family and of the zealous catholics was become her ſole reſource and ſecurity: that her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown would render her a dangerous inſtrument in their hands; and, were ſhe once able to ſuppreſs the proteſtants in her own kingdom, ſhe would unite the Scottiſh and Engliſh catholics, with thoſe of all foreign ſtates, in a confederacy againſt the religion and government of England: that it behoved Elizabeth, therefore, to proceed with caution in the deſign of reſtoring her rival to the throne; and to take care, both that this enterpriſe, if undertaken, ſhould be effected by Engliſh forces alone, and that full ſecurities ſhould beforehand be provided for the reformers and the reformation in Scotland: that, above all, it was neceſſary to guard carefully the perſon of that princeſs, leſt, finding this unexpected reſerve in the Engliſh friendſhip, ſhe ſhould ſuddenly take the reſolution of flying into France, and ſhould attempt, by foreign force, to recover poſſeſſion of her authority: that her deſperate fortunes and broken reputation fitted her for any attempt; and her reſentment, when ſhe ſhould find herſelf thus deſerted by the queen, would concur with her ambition and her bigotry, and render her an unrelenting, as well as powerful, enemy to the Engliſh government: that, if ſhe were once abroad in the hands of enterpriſing catholics, the attack on England would appear to her as eaſy as that on Scotland; and the only method, ſhe muſt imagine, of recovering her native kingdom, would be to acquire that crown to which ſhe would deem herſelf equally entitled: that a neutrality in ſuch intereſting ſituations, though it might be pretended, could never, without the moſt extreme danger, be upheld by the queen; and the detention of Mary was equally requiſite, whether the power of England were to be employed in her favour or againſt her: that nothing, indeed, was more becoming a great prince than generoſity; yet the ſuggeſtion of this noble principle could never,

without imprudence, be conſulted in ſuch delicate circumſtances as thoſe in which the queen was at preſent placed; where her own ſafety and the intereſts of her people were intimately concerned in every reſolution which ſhe embraced: that, though the example of ſucceſsful rebellion, eſpecially in a neighbouring country, could nowiſe be agreeable to any ſovereign, yet Mary's imprudence had been ſo great, perhaps her crimes ſo enormous, that the inſurrection of ſubjects, after ſuch provocation, could no longer be regarded as a precedent againſt other princes: that it was firſt neceſſary for Elizabeth to aſcertain, in a regular and ſatisfactory manner, the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence to determine the degree of protection which ſhe ought to afford her againſt her diſcontented ſubjects: that, as no glory could ſurpaſs that of defending oppreſſed innocence, it was equally infamous to patronize vice and murder on the throne; and the contagion of ſuch diſhonour would extend itſelf to all who countenanced or ſupported it: and that, if the crimes of the Scottiſh princeſs ſhould, on inquiry, appear as great and certain as was affirmed and believed, every meaſure againſt her, which policy ſhould dictate, would thence be juſtified; or, if ſhe ſhould be found innocent, every enterpriſe, which friendſhip ſhould inſpire, would be acknowledged laudable and glorious.

Agreeably to theſe views, Elizabeth reſolved to proceed in a ſeemingly generous, but really cautious, manner with the queen of Scots; and ſhe immediately ſent orders to lady Scrope, ſiſter to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in the neighbourhood, to attend on that princeſs. Soon after ſhe diſpatched to her lord Scrope himſelf, warden of the marches, and ſir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain. They found Mary already lodged in the caſtle of Carliſle; and, after expreſſing the queen's ſympathy with her in her late misfortunes, they told her that her requeſt of being allowed to viſit their ſovereign, and of being admitted

to her preſence, could not at preſent be complied with: till ſhe had cleared herſelf of her huſband's murder, of which ſhe was ſo ſtrongly accuſed, Elizabeth could not, without diſhonour, ſhew her any countenance, or appear indifferent to the aſſaſſination of ſo near a kinſman.[g] So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the neceſſity of her ſituation extorted from her a declaration that ſhe would willingly juſtify herſelf to her ſiſter from all imputations, and would ſubmit her cauſe to the arbitration of ſo good a friend.[h] Two days after ſhe ſent lord Herries to London with a letter to the ſame purpoſe.

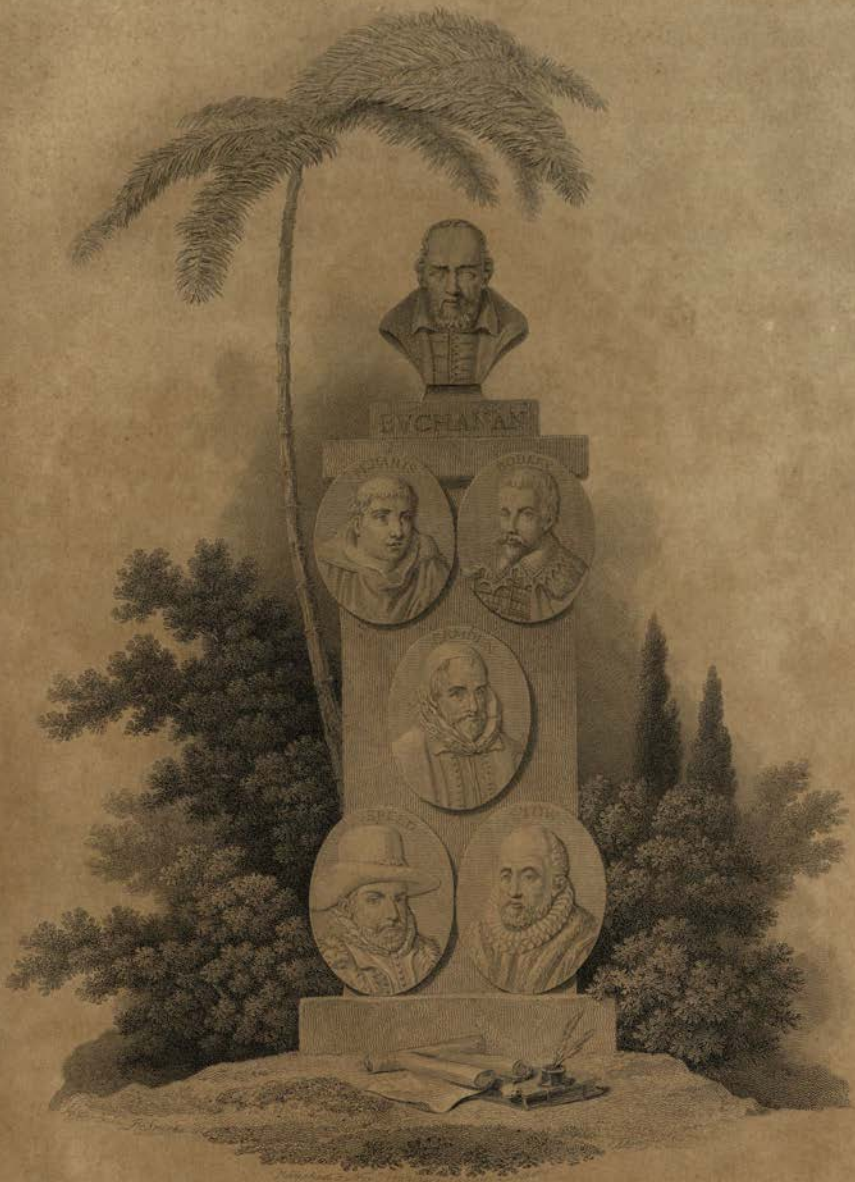
This conceſſion, which Mary could ſcarcely avoid without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and deſired by Elizabeth: ſhe immediately diſpatched Midlemore to the regent of Scotland; requiring him both to deſiſt from the farther proſecution of his queen's party, and ſend ſome perſons to London to juſtify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might juſtly be ſtartled at receiving a meſſage ſo violent and imperious; but, as his domeſtic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the ſole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he was reſolved rather to digeſt the affront than provoke Elizabeth by a refuſal. He alſo conſidered that, though that queen had hitherto appeared partial to Mary, many political motives evidently engaged her to ſupport the king's cauſe in Scotland; and it was not to be doubted but ſo penetrating a princeſs would in the end diſcover this intereſt, and would at leaſt afford him a patient and equitable hearing. He therefore replied that he would himſelf take a journey to England, attended by other commiſſioners; and would willingly ſubmit the determination of his cauſe to Elizabeth.[i]

Lord Herries now perceived that his miſtreſs had advanced too far in her conceſſions: he endeavoured to maintain that Mary could not, without diminution of her royal dignity, ſubmit

to a conteſt with her rebellious ſubjects before a foreign prince; and he required either preſent aid from England, or liberty for his queen to paſs over into France. Being preſſed, however, with the former agreement before the Engliſh council, he again renewed his conſent; but in a few days he began anew to recoil; and it was with ſome difficulty that he was brought to acquieſce in the firſt determination.[k] Theſe fluctuations, which were inceſſantly renewed, ſhewed his viſible reluctance to the meaſures purſued by the court of England.

The queen of Scots diſcovered no leſs averſion to the trial propoſed; and it required all the artifice and prudence of Elizabeth to make her perſevere in the agreement to which ſhe at firſt conſented. This latter princeſs ſtill ſaid to her that ſhe deſired not, without Mary's conſent or approbation, to enter into the queſtion, and pretended only, as a friend, to hear her juſtification: that ſhe was confident there would be found no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and, even if her apology ſhould fall ſhort of full conviction, Elizabeth was determined to ſupport her cauſe, and procure her ſome reaſonable terms of accommodation: and that it was never meant that ſhe ſhould be cited to a trial on the accuſation of her rebellious ſubjects; but, on the contrary, that they ſhould be ſummoned to appear, and to juſtify themſelves for their conduct towards her.[l] Allured by theſe plauſible profeſſions, the queen of Scots agreed to vindicate herſelf by her own commiſſioners before commiſſioners appointed by Elizabeth.

During theſe tranſactions lord Scrope and ſir Francis Knolles, who reſided with Mary at Carliſle, had leiſure to ſtudy her character, and make report of it to Elizabeth. Unbroken by her misfortunes, reſolute in her purpoſe, active in her enterpriſes, ſhe aſpired to nothing but victory; and was determined to endure any extremity, to undergo any difficulty, and to try every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fortune, rather than abandon her cauſe, or yield the ſuperiority to her enemies. Eloquent, inſinuating, affable; ſhe had already convinced all thoſe who approached her of the innocence of her paſt conduct; and, as ſhe declared her fixed purpoſe to require aid of her friends all over Europe, and even to have recourſe to infidels and barbarians, rather than fail of vengeance againſt her perſecutors, it was eaſy to foreſee the danger to which her charms, her ſpirit, her addreſs, if allowed to operate with their full force, would expoſe them.[m] The court of England, therefore, who, under pretence of guarding her, had already, in effect, detained her priſoner, were determined to watch her with greater vigilance. As Carliſle, by its ſituation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her eſcape, they removed her to Bolton, a ſeat of lord Scrope's, in Yorkſhire: and the iſſue of the controverſy between her and the Scottiſh nation was regarded as a ſubject more momentous to Elizabeth's ſecurity and intereſts than it had hitherto been apprehended.

CONFERENCES AT YORK AND HAMPTON COURT.

THE commiſſioners appointed by the Engliſh court for the examination of this great cauſe were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suſſex, and ſir Ralph Sadler; and York was named as the place of conference. Leſley biſhop of Roſs, the lords Herries, Levingſtone, and Boyde, with three perſons more, appeared as commiſſioners from the queen of Scots. The earl of Murray, regent, the earl of Morton, the biſhop of Orkney, lord Lindeſey, and the abbot of Dunfermling, were appointed commiſſioners from the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Lidington, George Buchanan, the famous poet and hiſtorian, with ſome others, were named as their aſſiſtants.

It was a great circumſtance in Elizabeth's glory that ſhe was thus choſen umpire between the factions of a neighbouring kingdom, which had, during many centuries, entertained the moſt violent jealouſy and animoſity againſt England; and her felicity was equally rare in having the fortunes and fame of ſo dangerous a rival, who had long given her the greateſt inquietude, now entirely at her diſpoſal. Some circumſtances of her late conduct had diſcovered a bias towards the ſide of Mary: her prevailing intereſts led her to favour the enemies of that princeſs: the profeſſions of impartiality, which ſhe had made, were open and frequent; and ſhe had ſo far ſucceeded, that each ſide accuſed her commiſſioners of partiality [n] towards their adverſaries. She herſelf appears, by the inſtructions given them, to have fixed no plan for the deciſion; but ſhe knew that the advantages which ſhe ſhould reap muſt be great, whatever iſſue the cauſe might take. If Mary's crimes could be aſcertained by undoubted proof, ſhe could for ever blaſt the reputation of that princeſs, and might juſtifiably detain her for ever a priſoner in England: if the evidence fell ſhort of conviction, it was intended to reſtore her to the throne, but with ſuch ſtrict limitations as would leave Elizabeth perpetual arbiter of all differences between the parties in Scotland, and render her in effect abſolute miſtreſs of the kingdom.[o]

Mary's commiſſioners, before they gave in their complaints againſt their enemies in Scotland, entered a proteſt that their appearance in the cauſe ſhould nowiſe affect the independence of her crown, or be conſtrued as a mark of ſubordination to England: the Engliſh commiſſioners received this proteſt, but with a reſerve to the claim of England. The complaint of that princeſs was next read, and contained a detail of the injuries which ſhe had ſuffered ſince her marriage with Bothwel: that her ſubjects had taken arms againſt her, on pretence of freeing

her from captivity; that, when ſhe put herſelf into their hands, they had committed her to cloſe cuſtody in Lochlevin; had placed her ſon, an infant, on her throne; had again taken arms againſt her after her deliverance from priſon; had rejected all her propoſals for accommodation; had given battle to her troops; and had obliged her, for the ſafety of her perſon, to take ſhelter in England.[p] The earl of Murray, in anſwer to this complaint, gave a ſummary and imperfect account of the late tranſactions: that the earl of Bothwel, the known murderer of the late king, had, a little after committing that crime, ſeized the perſon of the queen, and led her to Dunbar; that he acquired ſuch influence over her as to gain her conſent to marry him, and he had accordingly procured a divorce from his former wife, and had pretended to celebrate his nuptials with the queen; that the ſcandal of this tranſaction, the diſhonour which it brought on the nation, the danger to which the infant prince was expoſed from the attempts of that audacious man, had obliged the nobility to take arms, and oppoſe his criminal enterpriſes; that, after Mary, in order to ſave him, had thrown herſelf into their hands, ſhe ſtill diſcovered ſuch a violent attachment to him, that they found it neceſſary, for their own and the public ſafety, to confine her perſon during a ſeaſon, till Bothwel and the other murderers of her huſband could be tried and puniſhed for their crimes; and that, during this confinement, ſhe had voluntarily, without compulſion or violence, merely from diſguſt at the inquietude and vexations attending power, reſigned her crown to her only ſon, and had appointed the earl of Murray regent during the minority.[q] The queen's anſwer to this apology was obvious: that ſhe did not know, and never could ſuſpect, that Bothwel, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recommended to her by all the nobility for her huſband, was the murderer of the king; that ſhe ever was, and ſtill continues, deſirous that,

if he be guilty, he may be brought to condign puniſhment; that her reſignation of the crown was extorted from her by the well-grounded fears of her life, and even by direct menaces of violence; and that Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, as well as others of her friends, had adviſed her to ſign that paper as the only means of ſaving herſelf from the laſt extremity, and had aſſured her that a conſent, given under theſe circumſtances, could never have any validity.[r]

So far the queen of Scots ſeemed plainly to have the advantage in the conteſt: and the Engliſh commiſſioners might have been ſurpriſed that Murray had made ſo weak a defence, and had ſuppreſſed all the material imputations againſt that princeſs, on which his party had ever ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, had not ſome private conferences previouſly informed them of the ſecret. Mary's commiſſioners had boaſted that Elizabeth, from regard to her kinſwoman, and from her deſire of maintaining the rights of ſovereigns, was determined, how criminal ſoever the conduct of that princeſs might appear, to reſtore her to the throne;[s] and Murray, reflecting on ſome paſt meaſures of the Engliſh court, began to apprehend that there were but too juſt grounds for theſe expectations. He believed that Mary, if he would agree to conceal the moſt violent part of the accuſation againſt her, would ſubmit to any reaſonable terms of accommodation; but, if he once proceeded ſo far as to charge her with the whole of her guilt, no compoſition could afterwards take place; and, ſhould ſhe ever be reſtored, either by the power of Elizabeth or the aſſiſtance of her other friends, he and his party muſt be expoſed to her ſevere and implacable vengeance.[t] He reſolved, therefore, not to venture raſhly on a meaſure which it would be impoſſible for him ever to recall; and he privately paid a viſit to Norfolk and the other Engliſh commiſſioners, confeſſed his ſcruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and

deſired to have ſome ſecurity for Elizabeth's protection, in caſe that evidence ſhould, upon examination, appear entirely ſatiſfactory. Norfolk was not ſecretly diſpleaſed with theſe ſcruples of the regent.[u] He had ever been a partiſan of the queen of Scots. Secretary Lidington, who began alſo to incline to that party, and was a man of ſingular addreſs and capacity, had engaged him to embrace farther views in her favour, and even to think of eſpouſing her: and, though that duke confeſſed [w] that the proofs againſt Mary ſeemed to him unqueſtionable, he encouraged Murray in his preſent reſolution not to produce them publicly in the conferences before the Engliſh commiſſioners.[x]

Norfolk, however, was obliged to tranſmit to court the queries propoſed by the regent. Theſe queries conſiſted of four particulars: Whether the Engliſh commiſſioners had authority from their ſovereign to pronounce ſentence againſt Mary, in caſe her guilt ſhould be fully proved before them? Whether they would promiſe to exerciſe that authority, and proceed to an actual ſentence? Whether the queen of Scots, if ſhe were found guilty, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the regent, or, at leaſt, be ſo ſecured in England that ſhe never ſhould be able to diſturb the tranquillity of Scotland? and, Whether Elizabeth would alſo, in that caſe, promiſe to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority?[y]

Elizabeth, when theſe queries, with the other tranſactions, were laid before her, began to think that they pointed towards a concluſion more deciſive and more advantageous than ſhe had hitherto expected. She determined, therefore, to bring the matter into full light; and, under pretext that the diſtance from her perſon retarded the proceedings of her commiſſioners, ſhe ordered them to come to London, and there continue the conferences. On their appearance ſhe immediately joined in commiſſion with them ſome of the moſt conſiderable of her council;

ſir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leiceſter, lord Clinton, admiral, and ſir William Cecil,[z] ſecretary. The queen of Scots, who knew nothing of theſe ſecret motives, and who expected that fear or decency would ſtill reſtrain Murray from proceeding to any violent accuſation againſt her, expreſſed an entire ſatisfaction in this adjournment; and declared that the affair, being under the immediate inſpection of Elizabeth,[a] was now in the hands where ſhe moſt deſired to reſt it. The conferences were accordingly continued at Hampton-court; and Mary's commiſſioners, as before, made no ſcruple to be preſent at them.

The queen meanwhile gave a ſatisfactory anſwer to all Murray's demands, and declared that, though ſhe wiſhed and hoped, from the preſent inquiry, to be entirely convinced of Mary's innocence, yet, if the event ſhould prove contrary, and if that princeſs ſhould appear guilty of her huſband's murder, ſhe ſhould, for her own part, deem her for ever unworthy [b] of a throne. The regent, encouraged by this declaration, opened more fully his charge againſt the queen of Scots, and, after expreſſing his reluctance to proceed to that extremity, and proteſting that nothing but the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, which muſt not be abandoned for any delicacy, could have engaged him in ſuch a meaſure, he proceeded to accuſe her in plain terms of participation and conſent in the aſſaſſination of the king.[c] The earl of Lenox too appeared before the Engliſh commiſſioners; and, imploring vengeance for the murder of his ſon, accuſed Mary as an accomplice with Bothwel in that enormity.[d]

When this charge was ſo unexpectedly given in, and copies of it were tranſmitted to the biſhop of Roſs, lord Herries, and the other commiſſioners of Mary, they abſolutely refuſed to return an anſwer; and they grounded their ſilence on very extraordinary reaſons: they had orders, they ſaid, from their miſtreſs,

if any thing were advanced that might touch her honour, not to make any defence, as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, and could not be ſubject to any tribunal; and they required that ſhe ſhould previouſly be admitted to Elizabeth's preſence, to whom, and to whom alone, ſhe was determined to juſtify her innocence.[e] They forgot that the conferences were at firſt begun, and were ſtill continued, with no other view than to clear her from the accuſations of her enemies; that Elizabeth had ever pretended to enter into them only as her friend, by her own conſent and approbation, not as aſſuming any juriſdiction over her; that this princeſs had, from the beginning, refuſed to admit her to her preſence till ſhe ſhould vindicate herſelf from the crimes imputed to her; that ſhe had therefore diſcovered no new ſigns of partiality by her perſeverance in that reſolution; and that, though ſhe had granted an audience to the earl of Murray and his colleagues, ſhe had previouſly conferred the ſame honour on Mary's commiſſioners;[f] and her conduct was ſo far entirely equal to both parties.[g]

As the commiſſioners of the queen of Scots refuſed to give in any anſwer to Murray's charge, the neceſſary conſequence ſeemed to be, that there could be no farther proceedings in the conference. But, though this ſilence might be interpreted as a preſumption againſt her, it did not fully anſwer the purpoſe of thoſe Engliſh miniſters who were enemies to that princeſs. They ſtill deſired to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt; and, in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a judicious artifice was employed by Elizabeth. Murray was called before the Engliſh commiſſioners; and reproved by them, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his ſovereign: but, though the earl of Murray, they added, and the other commiſſioners, had ſo far forgotten the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen never

would overlook what ſhe owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinſwoman; and ſhe therefore deſired to know what they could ſay in their own juſtification.[h] Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge againſt the queen of Scots; and, among the reſt, ſome love letters and ſonnets of hers to Bothwel, written all in her own hand; and two other papers, one written in her own hand, another ſubſcribed by her, and written by the earl of Huntley; each of which contained a promiſe of marriage with Bothwel, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman.

All theſe important papers had been kept by Bothwel in a ſilver box or caſket, which had been given him by Mary, and which had belonged to her firſt huſband Francis; and, though the princeſs had enjoined him to burn the letters as ſoon as he had read them, he had thought proper carefully to preſerve them as pledges of her fidelity, and had committed them to the cuſtody of ſir James Balfour, deputy governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh. When that fortreſs was beſieged by the aſſociated lords, Bothwel ſent a ſervant to receive the caſket from the hands of the deputy governor. Balfour delivered it to the meſſenger; but, as he had at that time received ſome diſguſt from Bothwel, and was ſecretly negociating an agreement with the ruling party, he took care, by conveying private intelligence to the earl of Morton, to make the papers be intercepted by him. They contained inconteſtable proofs of Mary's criminal correſpondence with Bothwel, of her conſent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwel pretended to commit upon her.[i] Murray fortified this evidence by ſome teſtimonies of correſpondent facts;[k] and he added, ſome time after, the dying confeſſion of one Hubert, or French Paris, as he was called, a ſervant of Bothwel's, who had been executed for the king's murder, and who directly

charged the queen with her being acceſſary to that criminal enterpriſe.

Mary's commiſſioners had uſed every expedient to ward this blow which they ſaw coming upon them, and againſt which it appears they were not provided with any proper defence. As ſoon as Murray opened his charge they endeavoured to turn the conferences from an inquiry into a negociation; and, though informed by the Engliſh commiſſioners that nothing could be more diſhonourable for their miſtreſs than to enter into a treaty with ſuch undutiful ſubjects, before ſhe had juſtified herſelf from thoſe enormous imputations which had been thrown upon her, they ſtill inſiſted that Elizabeth ſhould ſettle terms of accommodation between Mary and her enemies in Scotland.[m] They maintained that, till their miſtreſs had given in her anſwer to Murray's charge, his proofs [n] could neither be called for nor produced: and, finding that the Engliſh commiſſioners were ſtill determined to proceed in the method which had been projected, they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply. Theſe papers, at leaſt tranſlations of them, have ſince been publiſhed. The objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of ſmall force; but, were they ever ſo ſpecious, they cannot now be hearkened to; ſince Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence againſt her, by recoiling from the inquiry at the very critical moment, and refuſing to give an anſwer to the accuſation of her enemies.[o]

But Elizabeth, though ſhe had ſeen enough for her own ſatisfaction, was determined that the moſt eminent perſons of her court ſhould alſo be acquainted with theſe tranſactions, and ſhould be convinced of the equity of her proceedings. She ordered her privy council to be aſſembled; and, that ſhe might render the matter more ſolemn and authentic, ſhe ſummoned

along with them the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Shrewſbury, Worceſter, Huntingdon, and Warwick. All the proceedings of the Engliſh commiſſioners were read to them: the evidences produced by Murray were peruſed: a great number of letters, written by Mary to Elizabeth, were laid before them, and the hand-writing compared with that of the letters delivered in by the regent: the refuſal of the queen of Scots' commiſſioners to make any reply was related: and, on the whole, Elizabeth told them that, as ſhe had from the firſt thought it improper that Mary, after ſuch horrid crimes were imputed to her, ſhould be admitted to her preſence before ſhe had, in ſome meaſure, juſtified herſelf from the charge; ſo now, when her guilt was confirmed by ſo many evidences, and all anſwer refuſed, ſhe muſt, for her part, perſevere more ſteadily in that [p] reſolution. Elizabeth next called in the queen of Scots' commiſſioners, and, after obſerving that ſhe deemed it much more decent for their miſtreſs to continue the conferences than to require the liberty of juſtifying herſelf in perſon, ſhe told them that Mary might either ſend her reply by a perſon whom ſhe truſted, or deliver it herſelf to ſome Engliſh nobleman whom Elizabeth ſhould appoint to wait upon her: but, as to her reſolution of making no reply at all, ſhe muſt regard it as the ſtrongeſt confeſſion of guilt; nor could they ever be deemed her friends who adviſed her to that method of proceeding.[q] Theſe topics ſhe enforced ſtill more ſtrongly in a letter which ſhe wrote to Mary herſelf.

The queen of Scots had no other ſubterfuge from theſe preſſing remonſtrances than ſtill to demand a perſonal interview with Elizabeth: a conceſſion which ſhe was ſenſible would never be granted;[r] becauſe Elizabeth knew that this expedient could decide nothing; becauſe it brought matters to extremity, which that princeſs deſired to avoid; and becauſe it had been refuſed from the beginning, even before the commencement of the con-

ferences. In order to keep herſelf better in countenance, Mary thought of another device. Though the conferences were broken off, ſhe ordered her commiſſioners to accuſe the earl of Murray and his aſſociates as the murderers of the king:[t] but this accuſation, coming ſo late, being extorted merely by a complaint of Murray's, and being unſupported by any proof, could only be regarded as an angry recrimination upon her enemy.[u] She alſo deſired to have copies of the papers given in by the regent; but, as ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her reſolution to make no reply before the Engliſh commiſſioners, this demand was finally refuſed her.[w]

As Mary had thus put an end to the conferences, the regent expreſſed great impatience to return into Scotland; and he complained that his enemies had taken advantage of his abſence, and had thrown the whole government into confuſion. Elizabeth therefore diſmiſſed him; and granted him a loan of five thouſand pounds to bear the charges of his journey.[x] During the conferences at York the duke of Chatelrault arrived at London, in paſſing from France; and, as the queen knew that he was engaged in Mary's party, and had very plauſible pretenſions to the regency of the king of Scots, ſhe thought proper to detain him till after Murray's departure. But, notwithſtanding theſe marks of favour, and ſome other aſſiſtance which ſhe ſecretly gave this latter nobleman,[y] ſhe ſtill declined acknowledging the young king, or treating with Murray as regent of Scotland.

Orders were given for removing the queen of Scots from Bolton, a place ſurrounded with catholics, to Tutbury in the county of Stafford, where ſhe was put under the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury. Elizabeth entertained hopes that this princeſs, diſcouraged by her misfortunes, and confounded by the late tranſactions, would be glad to ſecure a ſafe retreat from all the tempeſts with which ſhe had been agitated; and ſhe promiſed to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either

voluntarily to reſign her crown, or to aſſociate her ſon with her in the government; and the adminiſtration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray.[z] But that high-ſpirited princeſs refuſed all treaty upon ſuch terms, and declared that her laſt words ſhould be thoſe of a queen of Scotland. Beſides many other reaſons, ſhe ſaid, which fixed her in that reſolution, ſhe knew that, if in the preſent emergence ſhe made ſuch conceſſions, her ſubmiſſion would be univerſally deemed an acknowledgment of guilt, and would ratify all the calumnies of her enemies.[a]

Mary ſtill inſiſted upon this alternative; either that Elizabeth ſhould aſſiſt her in recovering her authority, or ſhould give her liberty to retire into France, and make trial of the friendſhip of other princes: and, as ſhe aſſerted that ſhe had come voluntarily into England, invited by many former profeſſions of amity, ſhe thought that one or other of theſe requeſts could not, without the moſt extreme injuſtice, be refuſed her. But Elizabeth, ſenſible of the danger which attended both theſe propoſals, was ſecretly reſolved to detain her ſtill a captive; and, as her retreat into England had been little voluntary, her claim upon the queen's generoſity appeared much leſs urgent than ſhe was willing to pretend. Neceſſity, it was thought, would, to the prudent, juſtify her detention; her paſt miſconduct would apologize for it to the equitable; and, though it was foreſeen that compaſſion for Mary's ſituation, joined to her intrigues and inſinuating behaviour, would, while ſhe remained in England, excite the zeal of her friends, eſpecially of the catholics, theſe inconveniences were deemed much inferior to thoſe which attended any other expedient. Elizabeth truſted alſo to her own addreſs for eluding all thoſe difficulties: ſhe purpoſed, to avoid breaking abſolutely with the queen of Scots, to keep her always in hopes of an accommodation, to negociate perpetually with her, and ſtill to throw

the blame of not coming to any concluſion either on unforeſeen accidents, or on the obſtinacy and perverſeneſs of others.

We come now to mention ſome Engliſh affairs which we left behind us, that we might not interrupt our narrative of the events in Scotland, which form ſo material a part of the preſent reign. The term fixed by the treaty of Cateau Cambreſis for the reſtitution of Calais expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, ſent ſir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that miniſter, in conjunction with ſir Henry Norris, her reſident ambaſſador, enforced her pretenſions. Conferences were held on that head without coming to any concluſion ſatisfactory to the Engliſh. The chancellor, De l'Hoſpital, told the Engliſh ambaſſadors that, though France, by an article of the treaty, was obliged to reſtore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the ſame treaty which now deprived Elizabeth of any right that could accrue to her by that engagement: that it was agreed, if the Engliſh ſhould, during the interval, commit hoſtilities upon France, they ſhould inſtantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe, with whatever pretences that meaſure might be covered, was a plain violation of the peace between the nations: that, though theſe places were not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, theſe governors were rebels; and a correſpondence with ſuch traitors was the moſt flagrant injury that could be committed on any ſovereign: that, in the treaty which enſued upon the expulſion of the Engliſh from Normandy, the French miniſters had abſolutely refuſed to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title which had accrued to the crown of France: and that, though a general clauſe had been inſerted, implying a reſervation of all claims, this conceſſion could not avail the Engliſh, who at that time poſſeſſed no juſt claim to

Calais, and had previouſly forfeited all right to that fortreſs.[b] The queen was nowiſe ſurpriſed at hearing theſe allegations; and, as ſhe knew that the French court intended not from the firſt to make reſtitution, much leſs after they could juſtify their refuſal by ſuch plauſible reaſons, ſhe thought it better for the preſent to acquieſce in the loſs, than to purſue a doubtful title by a war both dangerous and expenſive, as well as unſeaſonable.[c]

Elizabeth entered anew into negociations for eſpouſing the archduke Charles; and ſhe ſeems at this time to have had no great motive of policy which might induce her to make this fallacious offer: but, as ſhe was very rigorous in the terms inſiſted on, and would not agree that the archduke, if he eſpouſed her, ſhould enjoy any power or title in England, and even refuſed him the exerciſe of his religion, the treaty came to nothing; and that prince, deſpairing of ſucceſs in his addreſſes, married the daughter of Albert duke of Bavaria.[d]

CHAPTER XL.

ELIZABETH.

CHARACTER OF THE PURITANS....DUKE OF NORFOLK'S CONSPIRACY....INSURRECTION IN THE NORTH....ASSASSINATION OF THE EARL OF MURRAY....A PARLIAMENT....CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE....AFFAIRS OF THE LOW COUNTRIES....NEW CONSPIRACY OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK....TRIAL OF NORFOLK....HIS EXECUTION....SCOTCH AFFAIRS....FRENCH AFFAIRS....MASSACRE OF PARIS....FRENCH AFFAIRS....CIVIL WARS OF THE LOW COUNTRIES....A PARLIAMENT.

CHARACTER OF THE PURITANS. 1568.

OF all the European churches which ſhook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with ſo much reaſon and moderation as the church of England; an advantage which had been derived partly from the interpoſition of the civil magiſtrate in this innovation, partly from the gradual and ſlow ſteps by which the reformation was conducted in that kingdom. Rage and animoſity againſt the catholic religion was as little indulged as could be ſuppoſed in ſuch a revolution; the fabric of the ſecular hierarchy was maintained entire; the ancient liturgy was preſerved, ſo far as was thought conſiſtent with the new prin-

ciples; many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding uſe, were retained; the ſplendour of the Romiſh worſhip, though removed, had at leaſt given place to order and decency; the diſtinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued; no innovation was admitted, merely from ſpite and oppoſition to former uſage; and the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient ſuperſtition, and rendering it more compatible with the peace and intereſts of ſociety, had preſerved itſelf in that happy medium which wiſe men have always ſought, and which the people have ſo ſeldom been able to maintain.

But, though ſuch in general was the ſpirit of the reformation in that country, many of the Engliſh reformers, being men of more warm complexions and more obſtinate tempers, endeavoured to puſh matters to extremities againſt the church of Rome, and indulged themſelves in the moſt violent contrariety and antipathy to all former practices. Among theſe Hooper, who afterwards ſuffered for his religion with ſuch extraordinary conſtancy, was chiefly diſtinguiſhed. This man was appointed, during the reign of Edward, to the ſee of Gloceſter, and made no ſcruple of accepting the epiſcopal office; but he refuſed to be conſecrated in the epiſcopal habit, the cymarre and rochette, which had formerly, he ſaid, been abuſed to ſuperſtition, and which were thereby rendered unbecoming a true Chriſtian. Cranmer and Ridley were ſurpriſed at this objection, which oppoſed the received practice, and even the eſtabliſhed laws; and, though young Edward, deſirous of promoting a man ſo celebrated for his eloquence, his zeal, and his morals, enjoined them to diſpenſe with this ceremony, they were ſtill determined to retain it. Hooper then embraced the reſolution, rather to refuſe the biſhopric than clothe himſelf in thoſe hated garments; but it was deemed requiſite that, for the ſake of the example, he ſhould

not eſcape ſo eaſily. He was firſt confined to Cranmer's houſe, then thrown into priſon, till he ſhould conſent to be a biſhop on the terms propoſed: he was plied with conferences, and reprimands, and arguments. Bucer and Peter Martyr, and the moſt celebrated foreign reformers, were conſulted on this important queſtion: and a compromiſe, with great difficulty, was at laſt made, that Hooper ſhould not be obliged to wear commonly the obnoxious robes, but ſhould agree to be conſecrated in them, and to uſe them during cathedral ſervice:[e] a condeſcenſion not a little extraordinary in a man of ſo inflexible a ſpirit as this reformer.

The ſame objection, which had ariſen with regard to the epiſcopal habit, had been moved againſt the raiment of the inferior clergy; and the ſurplice, in particular, with the tippet and corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to many of the popular zealots.[f] In vain was it urged that particular habits, as well as poſtures and ceremonies, having been conſtantly uſed by the clergy, and employed in religious ſervice, acquire a veneration in the eyes of the people, appear ſacred in their apprehenſions, excite their devotion, and contract a kind of myſterious virtue, which attaches the affections of men to the national and eſtabliſhed worſhip; that, in order to produce this effect, an uniformity in theſe particulars is requiſite, and even a perſeverance, as far as poſſible, in the former practice; and that the nation would be happy, if, by retaining theſe inoffenſive obſervances, the reformers could engage the people to renounce willingly what was abſurd or pernicious in the ancient ſuperſtition. Theſe arguments, which had influence with wiſe men, were the very reaſons which engaged the violent proteſtants to reject the habits. They puſhed matters to a total oppoſition with the church of Rome: every compliance, they ſaid, was a ſymbolizing with Antichriſt. And this ſpirit was carried ſo far

by ſome reformers, that, in a national remonſtrance made afterwards by the church of Scotland againſt theſe habits, it was aſked, 'What has Chriſt Jeſus to do with Belial? What has darkneſs to do with light? If ſurplices, corner caps, and tippets, have been badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry, why ſhould the preacher of Chriſtian liberty, and the open rebuker of all ſuperſtition, partake with the dregs of the Romiſh beaſt? Yea, who is there that ought not rather to be afraid of taking in his hand, or on his forehead,[g] the print and mark of that odious beaſt?' But this application was rejected by the Engliſh church.

There was only one inſtance in which the ſpirit of contradiction to the Romaniſts took place univerſally in England: the altar was removed from the wall, was placed in the middle of the church, and was thenceforth denominated the communion-table. The reaſon why this innovation met with ſuch general reception was, that the nobility and gentry got thereby a pretence for making ſpoil of the plate, veſtures, and rich ornaments, which belonged to the altars.[h]

Theſe diſputes, which had been ſtarted during the reign of Edward, were carried abroad by the proteſtants who fled from the perſecutions of Mary; and, as the zeal of theſe men had received an increaſe from the furious cruelty of their enemies, they were generally inclined to carry their oppoſition to the utmoſt extremity againſt the practices of the church of Rome. Their communication with Calvin and the other reformers, who followed the diſcipline and worſhip of Geneva, confirmed them in this obſtinate reluctance; and, though ſome of the refugees, particularly thoſe who were eſtabliſhed at Frankfort, ſtill adhered to king Edward's liturgy, the prevailing ſpirit carried theſe confeſſors to ſeek a ſtill farther reformation. On the acceſſion of Elizabeth they returned to their native country; and, being re-

garded with general veneration, on account of their zeal and paſt ſufferings, they ventured to inſiſt on the eſtabliſhment of their projected model; nor did they want countenance from many conſiderable perſons in the queen's council. But the princeſs herſelf, ſo far from being willing to deſpoil religion of the few ornaments and ceremonies which remained in it, was rather inclined to bring the public worſhip ſtill nearer to the Romiſh ritual;[i] and ſhe thought that the reformation had already gone too far in ſhaking off thoſe forms and obſervances, which, without diſtracting men of more refined apprehenſions, tend, in a very innocent manner, to allure, and amuſe, and engage, the vulgar. She took care to have a law for uniformity ſtrictly enacted; ſhe was empowered by the parliament to add any new ceremonies which ſhe thought proper; and, though ſhe was ſparing in the exerciſe of this prerogative, ſhe continued rigid in exacting an obſervance of the eſtabliſhed laws, and in puniſhing all nonconformity. The zealots, therefore, who harboured a ſecret antipathy to the epiſcopal order, and to the whole liturgy, were obliged, in a great meaſure, to conceal theſe ſentiments, which would have been regarded as highly audacious and criminal; and they confined their avowed objections to the ſurplice, the confirmation of children, the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm, the ring in marriage, kneeling at the ſacrament, and bowing at the name of Jeſus. So fruitleſs is it for ſovereigns to watch with a rigid care over orthodoxy, and to employ the ſword in religious controverſy, that the work, perpetually renewed, is perpetually to begin; and a garb, a geſture, nay a metaphyſical or grammatical diſtinction, when rendered important by the diſputes of theologians, and the zeal of the magiſtrate, is ſufficient to deſtroy the unity of the church, and even the peace of ſociety. Theſe controverſies had already excited ſuch ferment among the people, that in ſome places they refuſed to frequent

the churches where the habits and ceremonies were uſed; would not ſalute the conforming clergy; and proceeded ſo far as to revile them in the ſtreets, to ſpit in their faces, and to uſe them with all manner of contumely.[k] And, while the ſovereign authority checked theſe exceſſes, the flame was confined, not extinguiſhed; and, burning fiercer from confinement, it burſt out in the ſucceeding reigns to the deſtruction of the church and monarchy.

All enthuſiaſts, indulging themſelves in rapturous flights, ecſtaſies, viſions, inſpirations, have a natural averſion to epiſcopal authority, to ceremonies, rites, and forms, which they denominate ſuperſtition or beggarly elements, and which ſeem to reſtrain the liberal effuſions of their zeal and devotion. But there was another ſet of opinions adopted by theſe innovators, which rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of Elizabeth's averſion. The ſame bold and daring ſpirit, which accompanied them in their addreſſes to the Divinity, appeared in their political ſpeculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which, during ſome reigns, had been little avowed in the nation, and which were totally incompatible with the preſent exorbitant prerogative, had been ſtrongly adopted by this new ſect. Scarcely any ſovereign before Elizabeth, and none after her, carried higher, both in ſpeculation and practice, the authority of the crown; and the puritans (ſo theſe ſectaries were called, on account of their pretending to a ſuperior purity of worſhip and diſcipline) could not recommend themſelves worſe to her favour than by inculcating the doctrine of reſiſting or reſtraining princes. From all theſe motives the queen neglected no opportunity of depreſſing thoſe zealous innovators; and, while they were ſecretly countenanced by ſome of her moſt favoured miniſters, Cecil, Leiceſter, Knolles, Bedford, Walſingham, ſhe never was, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

We have thought proper to inſert in this place an account of the riſe and genius of the puritans; becauſe Camden marks the preſent year as the period when they began to make themſelves conſiderable in England. We now return to our narration.

DUKE OF NORFOLK'S CONSPIRACY. 1569.

THE duke of Norfolk was the only peer that enjoyed the higheſt title of nobility; and, as there were at preſent no princes of the blood, the ſplendour of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him without compariſon the firſt ſubject in England. The qualities of his mind correſponded to his high ſtation: beneficent, affable, generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, obſequious, he poſſeſſed, without giving her any jealouſy, the good graces of his ſovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendſhip of the moſt conſiderable men of that party: but, as he had been educated among the reformers, was ſincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that ſtrict decorum and regularity of life by which the proteſtants were at that time diſtinguiſhed, he thereby enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular even with the moſt oppoſite factions. The height of his proſperity alone was the ſource of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have for ever kept him at a diſtance.

Norfolk was at this time a widower; and, being of a ſuitable age, his marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared ſo natural, that it had occurred to ſeveral of his friends and thoſe of that princeſs: but the firſt perſon, who, after ſecretary Lidington, opened the ſcheme to the duke, is ſaid to have been the earl of

Murray, before his departure for Scotland.[l] That nobleman ſet before Norfolk both the advantage of compoſing the diſſenſions in Scotland by an alliance, which would be ſo generally acceptable, and the proſpect of reaping the ſucceſſion of England; and, in order to bind Norfolk's intereſt the faſter with Mary's, he propoſed that the duke's daughter ſhould alſo eſpouſe the young king of Scotland. The previouſly obtaining of Elizabeth's conſent was regarded, both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumſtance eſſential to the ſucceſs of their project; and, all terms being adjuſted between them, Murray took care, by means of ſir Robert Melvil, to have the deſign communicated to the queen of Scots. This princeſs replied, that the vexations which ſhe had met with in her two laſt marriages had made her more inclined to lead a ſingle life; but ſhe was determined to ſacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare; and therefore, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be legally divorced from Bothwel, ſhe would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another huſband.[m]

It is probable that Murray was not ſincere in this propoſal. He had two motives to engage him to diſſimulation. He knew the danger which he muſt run, in his return through the north of England, from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, Mary's partiſans in that country; and he dreaded an inſurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatelrault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom ſhe had appointed her lieutenants during her abſence. By theſe feigned appearances of friendſhip he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen,[n] and perſuaded the queen of Scots to give her lieutenants permiſſion, and even advice, to conclude a ceſſation of hoſtilities with the regent's party.[o]

The duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed that Elizabeth's conſent ſhould be previouſly obtained before the completion of

his marriage, had reaſon to apprehend that he never ſhould prevail with her voluntarily to make that conceſſion. He knew her perpetual and unrelenting jealouſy againſt her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all propoſals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foreſaw that this princeſs's eſpouſing a perſon of his power and character and intereſt would give the greateſt umbrage; and, as it would then become neceſſary to reinſtate her in poſſeſſion of her throne on ſome tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-eſtabliſhing of her character, he dreaded leſt Elizabeth, whoſe politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to ſuch indulgent and generous conditions. He therefore attempted previouſly to gain the conſent and approbation of ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable nobility; and he was ſucceſsful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewſbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Suſſex.[p] Lord Lumley and ſir Nicholas Throgmorton cordially embraced the propoſal: even the earl of Leiceſter, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly entertained ſome views of eſpouſing Mary, willingly reſigned all his pretenſions, and ſeemed to enter zealouſly into Norfolk's intereſts.[q] There were other motives, beſides affection to the duke, which produced this general combination of the nobility.

Sir William Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate, was the moſt vigilant, active, and prudent, miniſter ever known in England; and, as he was governed by no views but the intereſts of his ſovereign, which he had inflexibly purſued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever cool himſelf, and uninfluenced by prejudice or affection, he checked thoſe ſallies of paſſion, and ſometimes of caprice, to which ſhe was ſubject; and, if he failed of perſuading her in the firſt movement, his perſeverance, and remonſtrances, and arguments, were ſure at laſt to recommend themſelves to her ſound diſcernment. The more

credit he gained with his miſtreſs, the more was he expoſed to the envy of her other counſellors; and, as he had been ſuppoſed to adopt the intereſts of the houſe of Suffolk, whoſe claim ſeemed to carry with it no danger to the preſent eſtabliſhment, his enemies, in oppoſition to him, were naturally led to attach themſelves to the queen of Scots. Elizabeth ſaw, without uneaſineſs, this emulation among her courtiers, which ſerved to augment her own authority: and, though ſhe ſupported Cecil whenever matters came to extremities, and diſſipated every conſpiracy againſt him, particularly one laid about this time for having him thrown into the tower [r] on ſome pretence or other, ſhe never gave him ſuch unlimited confidence as might enable him entirely to cruſh his adverſaries.

Norfolk, ſenſible of the difficulty which he muſt meet with in controlling Cecil's counſels, eſpecially where they concurred with the inclination as well as intereſt of the queen, durſt not open to her his intentions of marrying the queen of Scots; but proceeded ſtill in the ſame courſe of increaſing his intereſt in the kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility to take part in his meaſures. A letter was written to Mary by Leiceſter, and ſigned by ſeveral of the firſt rank, recommending Norfolk for her huſband, and ſtipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly that ſhe ſhould give ſufficient ſurety to Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of England; that a perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, ſhould be made between their realms and ſubjects; that the proteſtant religion ſhould be eſtabliſhed by law in Scotland; and that ſhe ſhould grant an amneſty to her rebels in that kingdom.[s] When Mary returned a favourable anſwer to this application Norfolk employed himſelf with new ardour in the execution of his project; and, beſides ſecuring the intereſts of many of the conſiderable gentry and nobility who reſided at court, he

wrote letters to ſuch as lived at their country ſeats, and poſſeſſed the greateſt authority in the ſeveral counties.[t] The kings of France and Spain, who intereſted themſelves extremely in Mary's cauſe, were ſecretly conſulted, and expreſſed their approbation of theſe meaſures.[u] And, though Elizabeth's conſent was always ſuppoſed as a previous condition to the finiſhing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded ſuch lengths without conſulting her, to render his party ſo ſtrong that it ſhould no longer be in her power to refuſe it.[v]

It was impoſſible that ſo extenſive a conſpiracy could entirely eſcape the queen's vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped ſeveral intimations to the duke, by which he might learn that ſhe was acquainted with his deſigns; and ſhe frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he repoſed his head.[w] But he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her firſt by Leiceſter, then by Murray,[x] who, if ever he was ſincere in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at leaſt intended, for his own ſafety and that of his party, that Elizabeth ſhould, in reality as well as in appearance, be entire arbiter of the conditions, and ſhould not have her conſent extorted by any confederacy of her own ſubjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more ſo as thoſe intrigues were attended with other circumſtances, of which it is probable Elizabeth was not wholly ignorant.

Among the nobility and gentry that ſeemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many who were zealouſly attached to the catholic religion, who had no other deſign than that of reſtoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expenſe of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The earls of

Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, who poſſeſſed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to lord Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to Scotland, or any other place to which ſhe ſhould think proper to retire.[y] Sir Thomas and ſir Edward Stanley, ſons of the earl of Derby, ſir Thomas Gerrard, Rolſtone, and other gentlemen, whoſe intereſt lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary reſided, concurred in the ſame views; and required that, in order to facilitate the execution of the ſcheme, a diverſion ſhould, in the mean time, be made from the ſide of Flanders.[z] Norfolk diſcouraged, and even in appearance ſuppreſſed, theſe conſpiracies; both becauſe his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpoſe by rebellion, and becauſe he foreſaw that, if the queen of Scots came into the poſſeſſion of theſe men, they would rather chooſe for her huſband the king of Spain, or ſome foreign prince who had power, as well as inclination, to re-eſtabliſh the catholic religion.[a]

When men of honour and good principles, like the duke of Norfolk, engage in dangerous enterpriſes, they are commonly ſo unfortunate as to be criminal by halves; and, while they balance between the execution of their deſign and their remorſes, their fear of puniſhment and their hope of pardon, they render themſelves an eaſy prey to their enemies. The duke, in order to repreſs the ſurmiſes ſpread againſt him, ſpoke contemptuouſly to Elizabeth of the Scottiſh alliance; affirmed that his eſtate in England was more valuable than the revenue of a kingdom waſted by civil wars and factions; and declared that, when he amuſed himſelf in his own tennis-court at Norwich amidſt his friends and vaſſals, he deemed himſelf at leaſt a petty prince, and was fully ſatisfied with his condition.[b] Finding that he did

not convince her by theſe aſſeverations, and that he was looked on with a jealous eye by the miniſters, he retired to his country ſeat without taking leave.[c] He ſoon after repented of this meaſure, and ſet out on his return to court with a view of uſing every expedient to regain the queen's good graces; but he was met at St. Albans by Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of penſioners, by whom he was conveyed to Burnham, three miles from Windſor, where the court then reſided.[d] He was ſoon after committed to the tower,[e] under the cuſtody of ſir Henry Nevil. Leſley biſhop of Roſs, the queen of Scots' ambaſſador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council.[f] The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own houſe. Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton, were taken into cuſtody. The queen of Scots herſelf was removed to Coventry; all acceſs to her was, during ſome time, more ſtrictly prohibited; and viſcount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewſbury and Huntingdon in the office of guarding her.

INSURRECTIONS IN THE NORTH.

A RUMOUR had been diffuſed in the north of an intended rebellion; and the earl of Suſſex, preſident of York, alarmed with the danger, ſent for Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, in order to examine them; but, not finding any proof againſt them, he allowed them to depart. The report meanwhile gained ground daily; and, many appearances of its reality being diſcovered, orders were diſpatched by Elizabeth to theſe two noblemen to appear at court, and anſwer for their conduct.[g] They had already proceeded ſo far in their criminal deſigns, that they dared not to truſt themſelves in her hands: they had prepared meaſures for a rebellion; had communicated their deſign to Mary and her miniſters;[h] had entered into a correſpondence with the

duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries; had obtained his promiſe of a reinforcement of troops, and of a ſupply of arms and ammunition; and had prevailed on him to ſend over to London Chiapino Vitelli, one of his moſt famous captains, on pretence of adjuſting ſome differences with the queen; but in reality with a view of putting him at the head of the northern rebels. The ſummons ſent to the two earls precipitated the riſing before they were fully prepared; and Northumberland remained in ſuſpenſe between oppoſite dangers, when he was informed that ſome of his enemies were on the way with a commiſſion to arreſt him. He took horſe inſtantly, and haſtened to his aſſociate Weſtmoreland, whom he found ſurrounded with his friends and vaſſals, and deliberating with regard to the meaſures which he ſhould follow in the preſent emergence. They determined to begin the inſurrection without delay; and the great credit of theſe two noblemen, with that zeal for the catholic religion which ſtill prevailed in the neighbourhood, ſoon drew together multitudes of the common people. They publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they declared that they intended to attempt nothing againſt the queen, to whom they avowed unſhaken allegiance; and that their ſole aim was to re-eſtabliſh the religion of their anceſtors, to remove evil counſellors, and to reſtore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favour.[j] The numbers of the malcontents amounted to four thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe; and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England.[k]

The queen was not negligent in her own defence, and ſhe had beforehand, from her prudent and wiſe conduct, acquired the general good-will of her people, the beſt ſecurity of a ſovereign; inſomuch that even the catholics in moſt counties expreſſed an affection for her ſervice;[l] and the duke of Norfolk himſelf, though he had loſt her favour, and lay in confinement,

was not wanting, as far as his ſituation permitted, to promote the levies among his friends and retainers. Suſſex, attended by the earls of Rutland, the lords Hunſdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched againſt the rebels at the head of ſeven thouſand men, and found them already advanced to the biſhopric of Durham, of which they had taken poſſeſſion. They retired before him to Hexham; and, hearing that the earl of Warwick and lord Clinton were advancing againſt them with a greater body, they found no other reſource than to diſperſe themſelves without ſtriking a blow. The common people retired to their houſes; the leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found ſculking in that country, and was confined by Murray in the caſtle of Lochlevin. Weſtmoreland received ſhelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partiſans of Mary; and perſuaded them to make an inroad into England, with a view of exciting a quarrel between the two kingdoms. After they had committed great ravages they retreated to their own country. This ſudden and precipitate rebellion was followed ſoon after by another ſtill more imprudent, raiſed by Leonard Dacres. Lord Hunſdon, at the head of the garriſon of Berwick, was able, without any other aſſiſtance, to quell theſe rebels. Great ſeverity was exerciſed againſt ſuch as had taken part in theſe raſh enterpriſes. Sixty-ſix petty conſtables were hanged;[m] and no leſs than eight hundred perſons are ſaid, on the whole, to have ſuffered by the hands of the executioner.[n] But the queen was ſo well pleaſed with Norfolk's behaviour, that ſhe releaſed him from the tower; allowed him to live, though under ſome ſhew of confinement, in his own houſe; and only exacted a promiſe from him not to proceed any farther in his negociations with the queen of Scots.[o]

Elizabeth now found that the detention of Mary was attended with all the ill conſequences which ſhe had foreſeen when ſhe

firſt embraced that meaſure. This latter princeſs, recovering, by means of her misfortunes and her own natural good ſenſe, from that delirium into which ſhe ſeems to have been thrown during her attachment to Bothwel, had behaved with ſuch modeſty, and judgment, and even dignity, that every one who approached her was charmed with her demeanour; and her friends were enabled, on ſome plauſible grounds, to deny the reality of thoſe crimes which had been imputed to her.[P] Compaſſion for her ſituation, and the neceſſity of procuring her liberty, proved an incitement among all her partiſans to be active in promoting her cauſe; and, as her deliverance from captivity, it was thought, could nowiſe be effected but by attempts dangerous to the eſtabliſhed government, Elizabeth had reaſon to expect little tranquillity ſo long as the Scottiſh queen remained a priſoner in her hands. But, as this inconvenience had been preferred to the danger of allowing that princeſs to enjoy her liberty, and to ſeek relief in all the catholic courts of Europe, it behoved the queen to ſupport the meaſure which ſhe had adopted, and to guard, by every prudent expedient, againſt the miſchiefs to which it was expoſed. She ſtill flattered Mary with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct between that queen and her enemies in Scotland, negociated perpetually concerning the terms of her reſtoration, made conſtant profeſſions of friendſhip to her; and by theſe artifices endeavoured both to prevent her from making any deſperate efforts for her deliverance, and to ſatisfy the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who never intermitted their ſolicitations, ſometimes accompanied with menaces, in her behalf. This deceit was received with the ſame deceit by the queen of Scots; profeſſions of confidence were returned by profeſſions equally inſincere; and, while an appearance of friendſhip was maintained on both ſides, the animoſity and jealouſy, which had long prevailed between them, became every

day more inveterate and incurable. Theſe two princeſſes, in addreſs, capacity, activity, and ſpirit, were nearly a match for each other; but unhappily Mary, beſides her preſent forlorn condition, was always inferior in perſonal conduct and diſcretion, as well as in power, to her illuſtrious rival.

Elizabeth and Mary wrote at the ſame time letters to the regent. The queen of Scots deſired that her marriage with Bothwel might be examined, and a divorce be legally pronounced between them. The queen of England gave Murray the choice of three conditions; that Mary ſhould be reſtored to her dignity on certain terms; that ſhe ſhould be aſſociated with her ſon, and the adminiſtration remain in the regent's hand, till the young prince ſhould come to years of diſcretion; or that ſhe ſhould be allowed to live at liberty as a private perſon in Scotland, and have an honourable ſettlement made in her favour.[q] Murray ſummoned a convention of ſtates, in order to deliberate on theſe propoſals of the two queens: no anſwer was made by them to Mary's letter, on pretence that ſhe had there employed the ſtyle of a ſovereign, addreſſing herſelf to her ſubjects; but, in reality, becauſe they ſaw that her requeſt was calculated to prepare the way for a marriage with Norfolk, or ſome powerful prince, who could ſupport her cauſe, and reſtore her to the throne. They replied to Elizabeth that the two former conditions were ſo derogatory to the royal authority of their prince, that they could not ſo much as deliberate concerning them; the third alone could be the ſubject of treaty. It was evident that Elizabeth, in propoſing conditions ſo unequal in their importance, invited the Scots to a refuſal of thoſe which were moſt advantageous to Mary; and, as it was difficult, if not impoſſible, to adjuſt all the terms of the third ſo as to render it ſecure and eligible to all parties, it was concluded that ſhe was not ſincere in any of them.[r]

ASSASSINATION OF THE EARL OF MURRAY. 1570.

It is pretended that Murray had entered into a private negociation with the queen to get Mary delivered into his hands;[s] and, as Elizabeth found the detention of her in England ſo dangerous, it is probable that ſhe would have been pleaſed, on any honourable or ſafe terms, to rid herſelf of a priſoner who gave her ſo much inquietude.[t] But all theſe projects vaniſhed by the ſudden death of the regent, who was aſſaſſinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton. Murray was a perſon of conſiderable vigour, abilities, and conſtancy; but, though he was not unſucceſsful, during his regency, in compoſing the diſſenſions in Scotland, his talents ſhone out more eminently in the beginning than in the end of his life. His manners were rough and auſtere; and he poſſeſſed not that perfect integrity which frequently accompanies, and can alone atone for, that unamiable character.

By the death of the regent Scotland relapſed into anarchy. Mary's party aſſembled together, and made themſelves maſters of Edinburgh. The caſtle, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, ſeemed to favour her cauſe; and, as many of the principal nobility had embraced that party, it became probable, though the people were in general averſe to her, that her authority might again acquire the aſcendant. To check its progreſs Elizabeth diſpatched Suſſex with an army to the north, under colour of chaſtiſing the ravages committed by the borderers. He entered Scotland, and laid waſte the lands of the Kers and Scots, ſeized the caſtle of Hume, and committed hoſtilities on all Mary's partiſans, who, he ſaid, had offended his miſtreſs by harbouring the Engliſh rebels. Sir William Drury was afterwards ſent with a body of troops, and he threw down the houſes of the Hamil-

tons, who were engaged in the ſame faction. The Engliſh armies were afterwards recalled by agreement with the queen of Scots, who promiſed, in return, that no French troops ſhould be introduced into Scotland, and that the Engliſh rebels ſhould be delivered up to the queen by her partiſans.[u]

But, though the queen, covering herſelf with the pretence of revenging her own quarrel, ſo far contributed to ſupport the party of the young king of Scots, ſhe was cautious not to declare openly againſt Mary; and ſhe even ſent a requeſt, which was equivalent to a command, to the enemies of that princeſs, not to elect, during ſome time, a regent in the place of Murray.[w] Lenox, the king's grandfather, was therefore choſen temporary governor, under the title of Lieutenant. Hearing afterwards that Mary's partiſans, inſtead of delivering up Weſtmoreland, and the other fugitives, as they had promiſed, had allowed them to eſcape into Flanders, ſhe permitted the king's party to give Lenox the title of Regent;[x] and ſhe ſent Randolph, as her reſident, to maintain a correſpondence with him. But, notwithſtanding this ſtep, taken in favour of Mary's enemies, ſhe never laid aſide her ambiguous conduct, or quitted the appearance of amity to that princeſs. Being importuned by the biſhop of Roſs, and her other agents, as well as by foreign ambaſſadors, ſhe twice procured a ſuſpenſion of arms between the Scottiſh factions, and by that means ſtopped the hands of the regent, who was likely to obtain advantages over the oppoſite party.[y] By theſe ſeeming contrarieties ſhe kept alive the factions in Scotland, increaſed their mutual animoſity, and rendered the whole country a ſcene of devaſtation and of miſery.[z] She had no intention to conquer the kingdom, and conſequently no intereſt or deſign to inſtigate the parties againſt each other; but this conſequence was an accidental effect of her cautious politics, by which ſhe was engaged, as far as poſſible, to keep on good terms

with the queen of Scots, and never to violate the appearances of friendſhip with her, at leaſt thoſe of neutrality.[a]

The better to amuſe Mary with the proſpect of an accommodation, Cecil and ſir Walter Mildmay were ſent to her with propoſals from Elizabeth. The terms were ſomewhat rigorous, ſuch as a captive queen might expect from a jealous rival; and they thereby bore the greater appearance of ſincerity on the part of the Engliſh court. It was required that the queen of Scots, beſides renouncing all title to the crown of England during the lifetime of Elizabeth, ſhould make a perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, between the kingdoms; that ſhe ſhould marry no Engliſhman without Elizabeth's conſent, or any other perſon without the conſent of the ſtates of Scotland; that compenſation ſhould be made for the late ravages committed in England; that juſtice ſhould be executed on the murderers of king Henry; that the young prince ſhould be ſent into England, to be educated there; and that ſix hoſtages, all of them noblemen, ſhould be delivered to the queen of England, with the caſtle of Hume, and ſome other fortreſs, for the ſecurity of performance.[b] Such were the conditions upon which Elizabeth promiſed to contribute her endeavours towards the reſtoration of the depoſed queen. The neceſſity of Mary's affairs obliged her to conſent to them; and the kings of France and Spain, as well as the pope, when conſulted by her, approved of her conduct; chiefly on account of the civil wars, by which all Europe was at that time agitated, and which incapacitated the catholic princes from giving her any aſſiſtance.[c]

Elizabeth's commiſſioners propoſed alſo to Mary a plan of accommodation with her ſubjects in Scotland; and, after ſome reaſoning on that head, it was agreed that the queen ſhould require Lenox, the regent, to ſend commiſſioners, in order to treat of conditions under her mediation. The partiſans of Mary

boaſted that all terms were fully ſettled with the court of England, and that the Scottiſh rebels would ſoon be conſtrained to ſubmit to the authority of their ſovereign: but Elizabeth took care that theſe rumours ſhould meet with no credit, and that the king's party ſhould not be diſcouraged, nor ſink too low in their demands. Cecil wrote to inform the regent that all the queen of England's propoſals, ſo far from being fixed and irrevocable, were to be diſcuſſed anew in the conference; and deſired him to ſend commiſſioners who ſhould be conſtant in the king's cauſe, and cautious not to make conceſſions which might be prejudicial to their party.[d] Suſſex alſo, in his letters, dropped hints to the ſame purpoſe; and Elizabeth herſelf ſaid to the abbot of Dunfermling, whom Lenox had ſent to the court of England, that ſhe would not inſiſt on Mary's reſtoration, provided the Scots could make the juſtice of their cauſe appear to her ſatisfaction; and that, even if their reaſons ſhould fall ſhort of full conviction, ſhe would take effectual care to provide for their future ſecurity.[e]

The parliament of Scotland appointed the earl of Morton and ſir James Macgill, together with the abbot of Dunfermling, to manage the treaty. Theſe commiſſioners preſented memorials containing reaſons for the depoſition of their queen; and they ſeconded their arguments with examples drawn from the Scottiſh hiſtory, with the authority of laws, and with the ſentiments of many famous divines. The lofty ideas which Elizabeth had entertained of the abſolute, indefeaſible right of ſovereigns, made her be ſhocked with theſe republican topics; and ſhe told the Scottiſh commiſſioners that ſhe was nowiſe ſatisfied with their reaſons for juſtifying the conduct of their countrymen; and that they might therefore, without attempting any apology, proceed to open the conditions which they required [f] for their ſecurity. They replied that their commiſſion did not empower them to

treat of any terms which might infringe the title and ſovereignty of their young king, but they would gladly hear whatever propoſals ſhould be made them by her majeſty. The conditions recommended by the queen were not diſadvantageous to Mary; but, as the commiſſioners ſtill inſiſted that they were not authoriſed to treat in any manner concerning the reſtoration of that princeſs,[g] the conferences were neceſſarily at an end; and Elizabeth diſmiſſed the Scottiſh commiſſioners with injunctions that they ſhould return, after having procured more ample powers from their parliament.[h] The biſhop of Roſs openly complained to the Engliſh council that they had abuſed his miſtreſs by fair promiſes and profeſſions; and Mary herſelf was no longer at a loſs to judge of Elizabeth's inſincerity. By reaſon of theſe diſappointments matters came ſtill nearer to extremities between the two princeſſes; and the queen of Scots, finding all her hopes eluded, was more ſtrongly incited to make, at all hazards, every poſſible attempt for her liberty and ſecurity.

An incident alſo happened about this time which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increaſe the vigilance and jealouſy of the latter princeſs. Pope Pius V, who had ſucceeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendſhip of Elizabeth, whom his predeceſſor's violence had irritated, iſſued at laſt a bull of excommunication againſt her, deprived her of all title to the crown,[i] and abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance. It ſeems probable that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by that means to forward the northern rebellion; a meaſure which was at that time in agitation.[k] John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the biſhop of London's palace; and, ſcorning either to fly or to deny the fact, he was ſeized and condemned, and received the

crown of martyrdom, for which he ſeems to have entertained ſo violent an ambition.[l]

A PARLIAMENT. 1571.

A NEW parliament, after five years' interval, was aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the ſecond of April; and, as the queen, by the rage of the pope againſt her, was become ſtill more the head of the ruling party, it might be expected, both from this incident and from her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houſes would be abſolutely uncontrollable. It was ſo in fact; yet is it remarkable that it prevailed not without ſome ſmall oppoſition, and that too ariſing chiefly from the height of zeal for proteſtantiſm; a diſpoſition of the Engliſh, which in general contributed extremely to increaſe the queen's popularity. We ſhall be ſomewhat particular in relating the tranſactions of this ſeſſion, becauſe they ſhew, as well the extent of the royal power during that age as the character of Elizabeth, and the genius of her government. It will be curious alſo to obſerve the faint dawn of the ſpirit of liberty among the Engliſh, the jealouſy with which that ſpirit was repreſſed by the ſovereign, the imperious conduct which was maintained in oppoſition to it, and the eaſe with which it was ſubdued by this arbitrary princeſs.

The lord keeper Bacon, after the ſpeaker of the commons was elected, told the parliament, in the queen's name, that ſhe enjoined them not to meddle with any matters of ſtate:[m] ſuch was his expreſſion; by which he probably meant the queſtions of the queen's marriage and the ſucceſſion, about which they had before given her ſome uneaſineſs: for, as to the other great points of government, alliances, peace and war, or foreign negociations, no parliament in that age ever preſumed to take them under

conſideration; or queſtion, in theſe particulars, the conduct of their ſovereign, or of his miniſters.

In the former parliament the puritans had introduced ſeven bills for a farther reformation in religion; but they had not been able to prevail in any one of them.[n] This houſe of commons had ſitten a very few days when Stricland, a member, revived one of the bills, that for the amendment of the liturgy.[o] The chief objection which he mentioned was the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm. Another member added, the kneeling at the ſacrament; and remarked that, if a poſture of humiliation were requiſite in that act of devotion, it were better that the communicants ſhould throw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, in order to keep at the wideſt diſtance from former ſuperſtition.[p]

Religion was a point of which Elizabeth was, if poſſible, ſtill more jealous than of matters of ſtate. She pretended that, in quality of ſupreme head or governor of the church, ſhe was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all queſtions which might ariſe with regard to doctrine, diſcipline, or worſhip; and ſhe never would allow her parliaments ſo much as to take theſe points into conſideration.[q] The courtiers did not forget to inſiſt on this topic: the treaſurer of the houſehold, though he allowed that any hereſy might be repreſſed by parliament (a conceſſion which ſeems to have been raſh and unguarded; ſince the act, inveſting the crown with the ſupremacy, or rather recogniſing that prerogative, gave the ſovereign full power to reform all hereſies), yet he affirmed that it belonged to the queen alone, as head of the church, to regulate every queſtion of ceremony in worſhip.[r] The comptroller ſeconded this argument; inſiſted on the extent of the queen's prerogative; and ſaid that the houſe might, from former examples, have taken warning not to meddle with ſuch matters. One Piſtor oppoſed theſe remonſtrances of the courtiers. He was ſcandaliſed, he

ſaid, that affairs of ſuch infinite conſequence (namely, kneeling and making the ſign of the croſs) ſhould be paſſed over ſo lightly. Theſe queſtions, he added, concern the ſalvation of ſouls, and intereſt every one more deeply than the monarchy of the whole world. This cauſe he ſhewed to be the cauſe of God; the reſt were all but terrene, yea trifles in compariſon, call them ever ſo great: ſubſidies, crowns, kingdoms, he knew not what weight they had when laid in the balance with ſubjects of ſuch unſpeakable importance.[s] Though the zeal of this member ſeems to have been approved of, the houſe, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the queſtion that a petition ſhould be preſented to her majeſty, for her licenſe to proceed farther in this bill; and, in the mean time, that they ſhould ſtop all debate or reaſoning concerning it.[t]

Matters would probably have reſted here, had not the queen been ſo highly offended with Stricland's preſumption, in moving the bill for reformation of the liturgy, that ſhe ſummoned him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the houſe of commons.[u] This act of power was too violent even for the ſubmiſſive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the houſe were invaded; obſerved that Stricland was not a private man, but repreſented a multitude; and moved that he might be ſent for, and, if he were guilty of any offence, might anſwer for it at the bar of the houſe, which he inſinuated to be the only competent tribunal.[w] Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with ſtill greater boldneſs. He ſaid that the precedent was dangerous: and, though in this happy time of lenity, among ſo many good and honourable perſonages as were at preſent inveſted with authority, nothing of extremity or injury was to be apprehended, yet the times might alter; what now is permitted might hereafter be conſtrued as duty, and might be enforced

even on the ground of the preſent permiſſion. He added, that all matters not treaſonable, or which implied not too much derogation of the imperial crown, might without offence be introduced into parliament; where every queſtion that concerned the community muſt be conſidered, and where even the right of the crown itſelf muſt finally be determined. He remarked that men ſat not in that houſe in their private capacities, but as elected by their country; and, though it was proper that the prince ſhould retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law: as the ſovereign could not of himſelf make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority.[x]

Theſe principles were popular, and noble, and generous; but the open aſſertion of them was, at this time, ſomewhat new in England; and the courtiers were more warranted by preſent practice when they advanced a contrary doctrine. The treaſurer warned the houſe to be cautious in their proceedings; neither to venture farther than their aſſured warrant might extend, nor hazard their good opinion with her majeſty in any doubtful cauſe. The member, he ſaid, whoſe attendance they required, was not reſtrained on account of any liberty of ſpeech, but for his exhibiting a bill in the houſe againſt the prerogative of the queen; a temerity which was not to be tolerated. And he concluded with obſerving that even ſpeeches made in that houſe had been queſtioned and examined by the ſovereign.[y] Cleere, another member, remarked that the ſovereign's prerogative is not ſo much as diſputable, and that the ſafety of the queen is the ſafety of the ſubject. He added that, in queſtions of divinity, every man was for his inſtruction to repair to his ordinary; and he ſeems to inſinuate that the biſhops themſelves, for their inſtruction, muſt repair to the queen.[z] Fleetwood obſerved that, in his memory, he knew a man who, in the fifth of the preſent

queen, had been called to account for a ſpeech in the houſe. But, leſt this example ſhould be deemed too recent, he would inform them, from the parliament rolls, that, in the reign of Henry V, a biſhop was committed to priſon, by the king's command, on account of his freedom of ſpeech; and the parliament preſumed not to go farther than to be humble ſuitors for him. In the ſubſequent reign the ſpeaker himſelf was committed, with another member; and the houſe found no other remedy than a like ſubmiſſive application. He adviſed the houſe to have recourſe to the ſame expedient; and not to preſume either to ſend for their member, or demand him as of right.[a] During this ſpeech thoſe members of the privy council who ſat in the houſe whiſpered together; upon which the ſpeaker moved that the houſe ſhould make ſtay of all farther proceedings: a motion which was immediately complied with. The queen, finding that the experiment which ſhe had made was likely to excite a great ferment, ſaved her honour by this ſilence of the houſe; and, leſt the queſtion might be reſumed, ſhe ſent next day to Stricland her permiſſion to give his attendance in parliament.[b]

Notwithſtanding this rebuke from the throne, the zeal of the commons ſtill engaged them to continue the diſcuſſion of thoſe other bills which regarded religion; but they were interrupted by a ſtill more arbitrary proceeding of the queen, in which the lords condeſcended to be her inſtruments. This houſe ſent a meſſage to the commons, deſiring that a committee might attend them. Some members were appointed for that purpoſe; and the upper houſe acquainted them that the queen's majeſty, being informed of the articles of reformation which they had canvaſſed, approved of them, intended to publiſh them, and to make the biſhops execute them, by virtue of her royal authority, as ſupreme head of the church of England; but that ſhe would not permit them to be treated of in parliament.[c] The

houſe, though they did not entirely ſtop proceedings on account of this injunction, ſeem to have been nowiſe offended at ſuch haughty treatment; and in the iſſue all the bills came to nothing.

A motion made by Robert Bell, a puritan, againſt an excluſive patent granted to a company of merchants in Briſtol,[d] gave alſo occaſion to ſeveral remarkable incidents. The queen, ſome days after the motion was made, ſent orders by the mouth of the ſpeaker, commanding the houſe to ſpend little time in motions, and to avoid long ſpeeches. All the members underſtood that ſhe had been offended, becauſe a matter had been moved which ſeemed to touch her prerogative.[e] Fleetwood accordingly ſpoke of this delicate ſubject. He obſerved that the queen had a prerogative of granting patents; that to queſtion the validity of any patent was to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign trade was entirely ſubject to the pleaſure of the ſovereign; that even the ſtatute which gave liberty of commerce admitted of all prohibitions from the crown; and that the prince, when he granted an excluſive patent, only employed the power veſted in him, and prohibited all others from dealing in any particular branch of commerce. He quoted the clerk of the parliament's book, to prove that no man might ſpeak in parliament of the ſtatute of wills, unleſs the king firſt gave licenſe; becauſe the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He ſhewed likewiſe the ſtatutes of Edward I, Edward III, and Henry IV, with a ſaving of the prerogative. And in Edward the Sixth's time the protector was applied to for his allowance to mention matters of prerogative.[f]

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the gallant and renowned ſea adventurer, carried theſe topics ſtill farther. He endeavoured to prove the motion made by Bell to be a vain device, and perilous to be treated of; ſince it tended to the derogation of the prerogative

imperial, which whoever ſhould attempt ſo much as in fancy, could not, he ſaid, be otherwiſe accounted than an open enemy. For what difference is there between ſaying that the queen is not to uſe the privilege of the crown, and ſaying that ſhe is not queen? And, though experience has ſhewn ſo much clemency in her majeſty as might, perhaps, make ſubjects forget their duty, it is not good to ſport or venture too much with princes. He reminded them of the fable of the hare, who, upon the proclamation that all horned beaſts ſhould depart the court, immediately fled, leſt his ears ſhould be conſtrued to be horns; and by this apologue he ſeems to inſinuate that even thoſe, who heard or permitted ſuch dangerous ſpeeches, would not themſelves be entirely free from danger. He deſired them to beware, leſt, if they meddled farther with theſe matters, the queen might look to her own power; and, finding herſelf able to ſuppreſs their challenged liberty, and to exert an arbitrary authority, might imitate the example of Lewis XI of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardſhip.[g]

Though this ſpeech gave ſome diſguſt, nobody, at the time, replied any thing, but that ſir Humphrey miſtook the meaning of the houſe, and of the member who made the motion: they never had any other purpoſe than to repreſent their grievances in due and ſeemly form unto her majeſty. But, in a ſubſequent debate, Peter Wentworth, a man of a ſuperior free ſpirit, called that ſpeech an inſult on the houſe; noted ſir Humphrey's diſpoſition to flatter and fawn on the prince; compared him to the cameleon, which can change itſelf into all colours, except white; and recommended to the houſe a due care of liberty of ſpeech, and of the privileges of parliament.[h] It appears, on the whole, that the motion againſt the excluſive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who firſt introduced it, was ſent for by the council, and was ſeverely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned

to the houſe with ſuch an amazed countenance that all the members, well informed of the reaſon, were ſtruck with terror; and during ſome time no one durſt riſe to ſpeak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and the council. Even after the fears of the commons were ſomewhat abated the members ſpoke with extreme precaution; and, by employing moſt of their diſcourſe in preambles and apologies, they ſhewed their conſcious terror of the rod which hung over them. Wherever any delicate point was touched, though ever ſo gently, nay ſeemed to be approached, though at ever ſo great a diſtance, the whiſper ran about the houſe, 'The queen will be offended; the council will be extremely diſpleaſed.' And by theſe ſurmiſes men were warned of the danger to which they expoſed themſelves. It is remarkable that the patent, which the queen defended with ſuch imperious violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of ſeven or eight thouſand of her induſtrious ſubjects.[1]

Thus every thing which paſſed the two houſes was extremely reſpectful and ſubmiſſive; yet did the queen think it incumbent on her, at the concluſion of the ſeſſion, to check, and that with great ſeverity, thoſe feeble efforts of liberty which had appeared in the motions and ſpeeches of ſome members. The lord keeper told the commons, in her majeſty's name, that, though the majority of the lower houſe had ſhewn themſelves in their proceedings diſcreet and dutiful, yet a few of them had diſcovered a contrary character, and had juſtly merited the reproach of audacious, arrogant, and preſumptuous; contrary to their duty both as ſubjects and parliament men, nay contrary to the expreſs injunctions given them from the throne at the beginning of the ſeſſion, injunctions which it might well become them to have better attended to; they had preſumed to call in queſtion her majeſty's grants and prerogatives. But her majeſty warns them

that, ſince they thus wilfully forget themſelves, they are otherwiſe to be admoniſhed: ſome other ſpecies of correction muſt be found for them; ſince neither the commands of her majeſty, nor the example of their wiſer brethren, can reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and preſumptuous folly, by which they are thus led to meddle with what nowiſe belongs to them, and what lies beyond the compaſs of their underſtanding.[k]

In all theſe tranſactions appears clearly the opinion which Elizabeth had entertained of the duty and authority of parliaments. They were not to canvaſs any matters of ſtate; ſtill leſs were they to meddle with the church. Queſtions of either kind were far above their reach, and were appropriated to the prince alone, or to thoſe councils and miniſters with whom he was pleaſed to intruſt them. What then was the office of parliaments? They might give directions for the due tanning of leather, or milling of cloth; for the preſervation of pheaſants and partridges; for the reparation of bridges and highways; for the puniſhment of vagabonds or common beggars. Regulations concerning the police of the country came properly under their inſpection; and the laws of this kind which they preſcribed had, if not a greater, yet a more durable, authority than thoſe which were derived ſolely from the proclamations of the ſovereign. Precedents or reports could fix a rule for deciſions in private property, or the puniſhment of crimes; but no alteration or innovation in the municipal law could proceed from any other ſource than the parliament; nor would the courts of juſtice be induced to change their eſtabliſhed practice by an order of council. But the moſt acceptable part of parliamentary proceedings was the granting of ſubſidies; the attainting and puniſhing of the obnoxious nobility, or any miniſter of ſtate after his fall; the countenancing of ſuch great efforts of power as might be deemed ſomewhat exceptionable when they proceeded entirely

from the ſovereign. The redreſs of grievances was ſometimes promiſed to the people, but ſeldom could have place while it was an eſtabliſhed rule that the prerogatives of the crown muſt not be abridged, or ſo much as queſtioned and examined in parliament. Even though monopolies and excluſive companies had already reached an enormous height, and were every day increaſing, to the deſtruction of all liberty and extinction of all induſtry, it was criminal in a member to propoſe, in the moſt dutiful and regular manner, a parliamentary application againſt any of them.

Theſe maxims of government were not kept ſecret by Elizabeth, or ſmoothed over by any fair appearances or plauſible pretences. They were openly avowed in her ſpeeches and meſſages to parliament; and were accompanied with all the haughtineſs, nay ſometimes bitterneſs, of expreſſion which the meaneſt ſervant could look for from his offended maſter. Yet, notwithſtanding this conduct, Elizabeth continued to be the moſt popular ſovereign that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of England; becauſe the maxims of her reign were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinion generally entertained with regard to the conſtitution. The continued encroachments of popular aſſemblies on Elizabeth's ſucceſſors have ſo changed our ideas in theſe matters, that the paſſages above mentioned appear to us extremely curious, and even at firſt ſurpriſing; but they were ſo little remarked during the time, that neither Camden, though a contemporary writer, nor any other hiſtorian, has taken any notice of them. So abſolute, indeed, was the authority of the crown, that the precious ſpark of liberty had been kindled, and was preſerved, by the puritans alone; and it was to this ſect, whoſe principles appear ſo frivolous and habits ſo ridiculous, that the Engliſh owe the whole freedom of their conſtitution. Actuated by that zeal which belongs to innovators, and by the

courage which enthuſiaſm inſpires, they hazarded the utmoſt indignation of their ſovereign; and, employing all their induſtry to be elected into parliament, a matter not difficult while a ſeat was rather regarded as a burden than an advantage,[l] they firſt acquired a majority in that aſſembly, and then obtained an aſcendant over the church and monarchy.

The following were the principal laws enacted this ſeſſion. It was declared treaſon, during the lifetime of the queen, to affirm that ſhe was not the lawful ſovereign, or that any other poſſeſſed a preferable title, or that ſhe was a heretic, ſchiſmatic, or infidel, or that the laws and ſtatutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown and the ſucceſſor thereof. To maintain, in writing or printing, that any perſon, except the natural iſſue of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or ſucceſſor, ſubjected the perſon, and all his abettors, for the firſt offence, to impriſonment during a year, and to the forfeiture of half their goods: the ſecond offence ſubjected them to the penalty of a premunire.[m] This law was plainly levelled againſt the queen of Scots and her partiſans; and implied an avowal that Elizabeth never intended to declare her ſucceſſor. It may be noted that the uſual phraſe of 'lawful iſſue,' which the parliament thought indecent towards the queen, as if ſhe could be ſuppoſed to have any other, was changed into that of 'natural iſſue.' But this alteration was the ſource of pleaſantry during the time; and ſome ſuſpected a deeper deſign, as if Leiceſter intended, in caſe of the queen's demiſe, to produce ſome baſtard of his own, and affirm that he was her offspring.[n]

It was alſo enacted that whoſoever, by bulls, ſhould publiſh abſolutions or other reſcripts of the pope, or ſhould, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, ſuch offenders, as well as thoſe who were ſo reconciled, ſhould be guilty of treaſon. The penalty of a premunire was impoſed on

every one who imported any Agnus Dei, crucifix, or ſuch other implement of ſuperſtition, conſecrated by the pope.[o] The former laws againſt uſury were enforced by a new ſtatute.[p] A ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths was granted by parliament. The queen, as ſhe was determined to yield to them none of her power, was very cautious in aſking them for any ſupply. She endeavoured, either by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary revenues ſuffice for the neceſſities of the crown, or ſhe employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by ſome ſuch ruinous expedient.

Though Elizabeth poſſeſſed ſuch uncontrolled authority over her parliaments, and ſuch extenſive influence over her people; though during a courſe of thirteen years ſhe had maintained the public tranquillity, which was only interrupted by the haſty and ill-concerted inſurrection in the north; ſhe was ſtill kept in great anxiety, and felt her throne perpetually totter under her. The violent commotions excited in France and the Low Countries, as well as in Scotland, ſeemed in one view to ſecure her againſt any diſturbance; but they ſerved, on more reflection, to inſtruct her in the danger of her ſituation when ſhe remarked that England, no leſs than theſe neighbouring countries, contained the ſeeds of inteſtine diſcord, the differences of religious opinion, and the furious intolerance and animoſity of the oppoſite ſectaries.

CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE.

The league formed at Bayonne in 1566, for the extermination of the proteſtants, had not been concluded ſo ſecretly but intelligence of it had reached Conde, Coligni, and the other leaders of the hugonots; and, finding that the meaſures of the court agreed with their ſuſpicions, they determined to prevent the

cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to ſtrike a blow before the catholics were aware of the danger. The hugonots, though diſperſed over the whole kingdom, formed a kind of ſeparate empire; and, being cloſely united, as well by their religious zeal as by the dangers to which they were perpetually expoſed, they obeyed, with entire ſubmiſſion, the orders of their leaders, who were ready on every ſignal to fly to arms. The king and queen-mother were living in great ſecurity at Monceaux in Brie, when they found themſelves ſurrounded by proteſtant troops, which had ſecretly marched thither from all quarters; and, had not a body of Swiſs come ſpeedily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they muſt have fallen, without reſiſtance, into the hands of the malcontents. A battle was afterwards fought in the plains of St. Dennis; where, though the old conſtable Montmorency, the general of the catholics, was killed combating bravely at the head of his troops, the hugonots were finally defeated. Conde, collecting his broken forces, and receiving a ſtrong reinforcement from the German proteſtants, appeared again in the field; and, laying ſiege to Chartres, a place of great importance, obliged the court to agree to a new accommodation.

So great was the mutual animoſity of thoſe religioniſts, that, even had the leaders on both ſides been ever ſo ſincere in their intentions for peace, and repoſed ever ſo much confidence in each other, it would have been difficult to retain the people in tranquillity; much more where ſuch extreme jealouſy prevailed, and where the court employed every pacification as a ſnare for their enemies. A plan was laid for ſeizing the perſon of the prince and admiral; who narrowly eſcaped to Rochelle, and ſummoned their partiſans to their aſſiſtance.[q] The civil wars were renewed with greater fury than ever, and the parties became ſtill more exaſperated againſt each other. The young duke of

Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the forces of the catholics; and fought in 1569 a great battle at Jarnac with the hugonots, where the prince of Conde was killed, and his army defeated. This diſcomfiture, with the loſs of ſo great a leader, reduced not the hugonots to deſpair. The admiral ſtill ſupported the cauſe; and, having placed at the head of the proteſtants the prince of Navarre, then ſixteen years of age, and the young prince of Conde, he encouraged the party rather to periſh bravely in the field than ignominiouſly by the hands of the executioner. He collected ſuch numbers, ſo determined to endure every extremity, that he was enabled to make head againſt the duke of Anjou; and, being ſtrengthened by a new reinforcement of Germans, he obliged that prince to retreat, and to divide his forces.

Coligni then laid ſiege to Poitiers; and, as the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterpriſe, the duke of Guiſe, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himſelf into the place, and ſo animated the garriſon by his valour and conduct, that the admiral was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Such was the commencement of that unrivalled fame and grandeur afterwards attained by this duke of Guiſe. The attachment which all the catholics had born to his father was immediately transferred to the ſon; and men pleaſed themſelves in comparing all the great and ſhining qualities which ſeemed in a manner hereditary in that family. Equal in affability, in munificence, in addreſs, in eloquence, and in every quality which engages the affections of men; equal alſo in valour, in conduct, in enterpriſe, in capacity; there ſeemed only this difference between them, that the ſon, educated in more turbulent times, and finding a greater diſſolution of all law and order, exceeded the father in ambition and temerity, and was engaged in enterpriſes ſtill more deſtructive to the

authority of his ſovereign, and to the repoſe of his native country.

Elizabeth, who kept her attention fixed on the civil commotions of France, was nowiſe pleaſed with this new riſe of her enemies the Guiſes; and, being anxious for the fate of the proteſtants, whoſe intereſts were connected with her own,[r] ſhe was engaged, notwithſtanding her averſion from all rebellion, and from all oppoſition to the will of the ſovereign, to give them ſecretly ſome aſſiſtance. Beſides employing her authority with the German princes, ſhe lent money to the queen of Navarre, and received ſome jewels as pledges for the loan. And ſhe permitted Henry Champernon to levy, and tranſport over into France, a regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers; among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to diſtinguiſh himſelf in that great ſchool of military valour.[s] The admiral, conſtrained by the impatience of his troops, and by the difficulty of ſubſiſting them, fought with the duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poictou, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithſtanding their frequent experience of the obſtinacy of the hugonots, and the vigour of Coligni, vainly flattered themſelves that the force of the rebels was at laſt finally annihilated; and they neglected farther preparations againſt a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were ſurpriſed to hear that this leader had appeared, without diſmay, in another quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to like conſtancy; had aſſembled an army; had taken the field; and was even ſtrong enough to threaten Paris. The public finances, diminiſhed by the continued diſorders of the kingdom, and waſted by ſo many fruitleſs military enterpriſes, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithſtanding his extreme animoſity againſt the hugonots, was

obliged, in 1570, to conclude an accommodation with them, to grant them a pardon for all paſt offences, and to renew the edicts for liberty of conſcience.

Though a pacification was ſeemingly concluded, the mind of Charles was nowiſe reconciled to his rebellious ſubjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was nothing but a ſnare, by which the perfidious court had projected to deſtroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. As the two young princes, the admiral, and the other leaders of the hugonots, inſtructed by paſt experience, diſcovered an extreme diſtruſt of the king's intentions, and kept themſelves in ſecurity at a diſtance, all poſſible artifices were employed to remove their apprehenſions, and to convince them of the ſincerity of the new counſels which ſeemed to be embraced. The terms of the peace were religiouſly obſerved to them; the toleration was ſtrictly maintained; all attempts made by the zealous catholics to infringe it were puniſhed with ſeverity; offices, and favours, and honours, were beſtowed on the principal nobility among the proteſtants; and the king and council every where declared that, tired of civil diſorders, and convinced of the impoſſibility of forcing men's conſciences, they were thenceforth determined to allow every one the free exerciſe of his religion.

Among the other artifices employed to lull the proteſtants into a fatal ſecurity, Charles affected to enter into cloſe connexion with Elizabeth; and, as it ſeemed not the intereſt of France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princeſs the more eaſily flattered herſelf that the French monarch would prefer her friendſhip to that of the queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, propoſals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whoſe youth, beauty, and reputation for valour, might naturally be ſuppoſed to recommend him to a woman who had appeared not altogether

inſenſible to theſe endowments. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and, being intent on that artifice, ſhe laid herſelf the more open to be deceived. Negociations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were propoſed; difficulties ſtarted and removed; and the two courts, equally inſincere, though not equally culpable, ſeemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and conceſſions. The great obſtacle ſeemed to lie in adjuſting the difference of religion; becauſe Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her huſband; and the duke of Anjou ſeemed unwilling to ſubmit, for the ſake of intereſt, to the diſhonour of an apoſtaſy.[t]

The artificial politics of Elizabeth never triumphed ſo much in any contrivances as in thoſe which were conjoined with her coquetry; and, as her character in this particular was generally known, the court of France thought that they might, without danger of forming any final concluſion, venture the farther in their conceſſions and offers to her. The queen alſo had other motives for diſſimulation. Beſides the advantage of diſcouraging Mary's partiſans, by the proſpect of an alliance between France and England, her ſituation with Philip demanded her utmoſt vigilance and attention; and the violent authority eſtabliſhed in the Low Countries made her deſirous of fortifying herſelf even with the bare appearance of a new confederacy.

AFFAIRS OF THE LOW COUNTRIES.

The theological controverſies which had long agitated Europe had, from the beginning, penetrated into the Low Countries; and, as theſe provinces maintained an extenſive commerce, they had early received from every kingdom with which they cor-

reſponded, a tincture of religious innovation. An opinion at that time prevailed, which had been zealouſly propagated by prieſts, and implicitly received by ſovereigns, that hereſy was cloſely connected with rebellion, and that every great or violent alteration in the church involved a like revolution in the civil government. The forward zeal of the reformers would ſeldom allow them to wait the conſent of the magiſtrate to their innovations; they became leſs dutiful when oppoſed and puniſhed; and, though their pretended ſpirit of reaſoning and inquiry was, in reality, nothing but a new ſpecies of implicit faith, the prince took the alarm, as if no inſtitutions could be ſecure from the temerity of their reſearches. The emperor Charles, who propoſed to augment his authority under pretence of defending the catholic faith, eaſily adopted theſe political principles; and, notwithſtanding the limited prerogative which he poſſeſſed in the Netherlands, he publiſhed the moſt arbitrary, ſevere, and tyrannical, edicts againſt the proteſtants; and he took care that the execution of them ſhould be no leſs violent and ſanguinary. He was neither cruel nor bigotted in his natural diſpoſition; yet an hiſtorian, celebrated for moderation and caution, has computed that, in the ſeveral perſecutions promoted by that monarch, no leſs than a hundred thouſand perſons periſhed by the hands of the executioner.[u] But theſe ſevere remedies, far from anſwering the purpoſes intended, had rather ſerved to augment the numbers as well as zeal of the reformers; and the magiſtrates of the ſeveral towns, ſeeing no end of thoſe barbarous executions, felt their humanity rebel againſt their principles, and declined any farther perſecution of the new doctrines.

When Philip ſucceeded to his father's dominions the Flemings were juſtly alarmed with new apprehenſions, leſt their prince, obſerving the lenity of the magiſtrates, ſhould take the execution of the edicts from ſuch remiſs hands, and ſhould eſtabliſh

the inquiſition in the Low Countries, accompanied with all the iniquities and barbarities which attended it in Spain. The ſevere and unrelenting character of the man, his profeſſed attachment to Spaniſh manners, the inflexible bigotry of his principles; all theſe circumſtances increaſed their terror: and, when he departed the Netherlands with a known intention never to return, the diſguſt of the inhabitants was extremely augmented, and their dread of thoſe tyrannical orders which their ſovereign, ſurrounded with Spaniſh miniſters, would iſſue from his cabinet at Madrid. He left the ducheſs of Parma governeſs of the Low Countries; and the plain good ſenſe and good temper of that princeſs, had ſhe been intruſted with the ſole power, would have preſerved the ſubmiſſion of thoſe opulent provinces, which were loſt from that refinement of treacherous and barbarous politics on which Philip ſo highly valued himſelf. The Flemings found that the name alone of regent remained with the ducheſs; that cardinal Granville entirely poſſeſſed the king's confidence; that attempts were every day made on their liberties; that a reſolution was taken never more to aſſemble the ſtates; that new biſhoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the perſecuting edicts; and that, on the whole, they muſt expect to be reduced to the condition of a province under the Spaniſh monarchy. The diſcontents of the nobility gave countenance to the complaints of the gentry, which encouraged the mutiny of the populace; and all orders of men ſhewed a ſtrong diſpoſition to revolt. Aſſociations were formed, tumultuary petitions preſented, names of diſtinction aſſumed, badges of party diſplayed; and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal and irritated by feeble reſiſtance, roſe to ſuch a height that, in ſeveral towns, particularly in Antwerp, they made an open invaſion on the eſtabliſhed worſhip, pillaged the churches and monaſteries,

broke the images, and committed the moſt unwarrantable diſorders.

The wiſer part of the nobility, particularly the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, were alarmed at theſe exceſſes, to which their own diſcontents had at firſt given countenance; and, ſeconding the wiſdom of the governeſs, they ſuppreſſed the dangerous inſurrections, puniſhed the ringleaders, and reduced all the provinces to a ſtate of order and ſubmiſſion. But Philip was not contented with the re-eſtabliſhment of his ancient authority: he conſidered that provinces ſo remote from the ſeat of government could not be ruled by a limited prerogative; and that a prince, who muſt entreat rather than command, would neceſſarily, when he reſided not among the people, feel every day a diminution of his power and influence. He determined, therefore, to lay hold of the late popular diſorders as a pretence for entirely aboliſhing the privileges of the Low Country provinces, and for ruling them thenceforth with a military and arbitrary authority.

In the execution of this violent deſign he employed a man who was a proper inſtrument in the hands of ſuch a tyrant. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, had been educated amidſt arms; and, having attained a conſummate knowledge in the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all government the ſevere diſcipline of a camp, and to conceive no meaſures between prince and ſubject but thoſe of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general in 1568 conducted, from Italy to the Low Countries, a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animoſity to the Flemings, with his known character, ſtruck that whole people with terror and conſternation. It belongs not to our ſubject to relate at length thoſe violences which Alva's natural barbarity, ſteeled by reflection and aggravated by inſolence, exerciſed on thoſe flouriſhing provinces. It

ſuffices to ſay that all their privileges, the gift of ſo many princes and the inheritance of ſo many ages, were openly and expreſsly aboliſhed by edict; arbitrary and ſanguinary tribunals erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, in ſpite of their great merits and paſt ſervices, brought to the ſcaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement, and thence delivered over to the executioner: and, notwithſtanding the peaceable ſubmiſſion of all men, nothing was heard of but confiſcation, impriſonment, exile, torture, and death.

Elizabeth was equally diſpleaſed to ſee the progreſs of that ſcheme, laid for the extermination of the proteſtants, and to obſerve the erection of ſo great a military power, in a ſtate ſituated in ſo near a neighbourhood. She gave protection to all the Flemiſh exiles who took ſhelter in her dominions; and, as many of theſe were the moſt induſtrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, ſhe reaped the advantage of introducing into England ſome uſeful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom. Foreſeeing that the violent government of Alva could not long ſubſiſt without exciting ſome commotion, ſhe ventured to commit an inſult upon him, which ſhe would have been cautious not to hazard againſt a more eſtabliſhed authority. Some Genoeſe merchants had engaged, by contract with Philip, to tranſport into Flanders the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns; and the veſſels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the channel by ſome privateers equipped by the French hugonots, and had taken ſhelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ſhips pretended that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen, finding, upon inquiry, that it was the property of Genoeſe merchants, took poſſeſſion of it as a loan; and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this reſource in the time of his greateſt neceſſity.

Alva, in revenge, ſeized all the Engliſh merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into priſon, and confiſcated their effects. The queen retaliated by a like violence on the Flemiſh and Spaniſh merchants; and gave all the Engliſh liberty to make repriſals on the ſubjects of Philip.

Theſe differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the merchants: but nothing could repair the loſs which ſo well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spaniſh government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, impoſed by his arbitrary will the moſt ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods; he alſo demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every ſale; an abſurd tyranny, which would not only have deſtroyed all arts and commerce, but even have reſtrained the common intercourſe of life. The people refuſed compliance; the duke had recourſe to his uſual expedient of the gibbet; and thus matters came ſtill nearer the laſt extremities between the Flemings and the Spaniards.[w]

NEW CONSPIRACY OF NORFOLK.

All the enemies of Elizabeth, in order to revenge themſelves for her inſults, had naturally recourſe to one policy, the ſupporting of the cauſe and pretenſions of the queen of Scots; and Alva, whoſe meaſures were ever violent, ſoon opened a ſecret intercourſe with that princeſs. There was one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had reſided about fifteen years in London, and who, while he conducted his commerce in England, had managed all the correſpondence of the court of Rome with the catholic nobility and gentry.[x] He had been thrown into

priſon at the time when the duke of Norfolk's intrigues with Mary had been diſcovered; but either no proof was found againſt him, or the part which he had acted was not very criminal; and he ſoon after recovered his liberty. This man, zealous for the catholic faith, had formed a ſcheme, in concert with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, for ſubverting the government, by a foreign invaſion and a domeſtic inſurrection; and, when he communicated his project by letter to Mary, he found that, as ſhe was now fully convinced of Elizabeth's artifices, and deſpaired of ever recovering her authority, or even her liberty, by pacific meaſures, ſhe willingly gave her concurrence. The great number of diſcontented catholics were the chief ſource of their hopes on the ſide of England; and they alſo obſerved that the kingdom was, at that time, full of indigent gentry, chiefly younger brothers, who, having at preſent, by the late decay of the church and the yet languiſhing ſtate of commerce, no proſpect of a livelihood ſuitable to their birth, were ready to throw themſelves into any deſperate enterpriſe.[y] But, in order to inſpire life and courage into all theſe malcontents, it was requiſite that ſome great nobleman ſhould put himſelf at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi and to the biſhop of Roſs, who entered into all theſe intrigues, ſo proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk.

This nobleman, when releaſed from confinement in the tower, had given his promiſe that he would drop all intercourſe with the queen of Scots;[z] but, finding that he had loſt, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, and being ſtill in ſome degree reſtrained from his liberty, he was tempted, by impatience and deſpair, to violate his word, and to open anew his correſpondence with the captive princeſs.[a] A promiſe of marriage was renewed between them; the duke engaged to enter into all her intereſts; and, as his remorſes gradually

diminiſhed in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, he was puſhed to give his conſent to enterpriſes ſtill more criminal. Rodolphi's plan was, that the duke of Alva ſhould, on ſome other pretence, aſſemble a great quantity of ſhipping in the Low Countries; ſhould tranſport a body of ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe into England; ſhould land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; ſhould thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to ſubmit to whatever terms the conſpirators ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon her.[b] Norfolk expreſſed his aſſent to this plan; and three letters, in conſequence of it, were written in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but the duke, apprehenſive of the danger, refuſed to ſign them.[c] He only ſent to the Spaniſh ambaſſador a ſervant and confidant, named Barker, as well to notify his concurrence in the plan as to vouch for the authenticity of theſe letters; and Rodolphi, having obtained a letter of credence from the ambaſſador, proceeded on his journey to Bruſſels and to Rome. The duke of Alva and the pope embraced the ſcheme with alacrity; Rodolphi informed Norfolk of their intentions;[d] and every thing ſeemed to concur in forwarding the undertaking.

Norfolk, notwithſtanding theſe criminal enterpriſes, had never entirely forgotten his duty to his ſovereign, his country, and his religion; and, though he had laid the plan both of an invaſion and an inſurrection, he ſtill flattered himſelf that the innocence of his intentions would juſtify the violence of his meaſures, and that, as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of the queen of Scots and the obtaining of Elizabeth's conſent to his marriage, he could not juſtly reproach himſelf as a rebel and a traitor.[e] It is certain, however, that, conſidering the queen's vigour and ſpirit, the ſcheme, if ſucceſsful, muſt finally have ended in dethroning her; and her authority was here expoſed to the utmoſt danger.

TRIAL OF NORFOLK.

THE conſpiracy hitherto had entirely eſcaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of ſecretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk's that they firſt obtained a hint, which being diligently traced, led at laſt to a full diſcovery. Mary had intended to ſend a ſum of money to lord Herries, and her partiſans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Banniſter, a ſervant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find ſome expedient for conveying it to lord Herries.[f] He intruſted the money to a ſervant who was not in the ſecret, and told him that the bag contained a ſum of money in ſilver, which he was to deliver to Banniſter with a letter: but the ſervant, conjecturing, from the weight and ſize of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh; who immediately ordered Banniſter, Barker, and Hicford, the duke's ſecretary, to be put under arreſt, and to undergo a ſevere examination. Torture made them confeſs the whole truth; and, as Hicford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the houſe, full evidence now appeared againſt his maſter.[g] Norfolk himſelf, who was entirely ignorant of the diſcoveries made by his ſervants, was brought before the council; and, though exhorted to atone for his guilt by a full confeſſion, he perſiſted in denying every crime with which he was charged. The queen always declared that, if he had given her this proof of his ſincere repentance, ſhe would have pardoned all his former offences;[h] but, finding him obſtinate, ſhe committed him to the tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial. The biſhop of Roſs had, on ſome ſuſpicion, been committed to cuſtody before the diſcovery of

Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient was employed to make him reveal his ſhare in the conſpiracy. He at firſt inſiſted on his privilege; but he was told that, as his miſtreſs was no longer a ſovereign, he would not be regarded as an ambaſſador, and that, even if that character were allowed, it did not warrant him in conſpiring againſt the ſovereign at whoſe court he reſided.[i] As he ſtill refuſed to anſwer interrogatories, he was informed of the confeſſion made by Norfolk's ſervants, after which he no longer ſcrupled to make a full diſcovery; and his evidence put the guilt of that nobleman beyond all queſtion. On the twelfth of January, 1572, a jury of twenty-five peers unanimouſly paſſed ſentence upon him. The trial was quite regular, even according to the ſtrict rules obſerved at preſent in theſe matters; except that the witneſſes gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the priſoner: a laudable practice, which was not at that time obſerved in trials for high treaſon.

EXECUTION OF NORFOLK. 1572.

The queen ſtill heſitated concerning Norfolk's execution, whether that ſhe was really moved by friendſhip and compaſſion towards a peer of that rank and merit, or that, affecting the praiſe of clemency, ſhe only put on the appearance of theſe ſentiments. Twice ſhe ſigned a warrant for his execution, and twice revoked the fatal ſentence;[k] and, though her miniſters and counſellors puſhed her to rigour, ſhe ſtill appeared irreſolute and undetermined. After four months heſitation a parliament was aſſembled; and the commons addreſſed her in ſtrong terms for the execution of the duke; a ſanction which, when added to the greatneſs and certainty of his guilt, would, ſhe thought, juſtify, in the eyes of all mankind, her ſeverity againſt that nobleman. Norfolk died with calmneſs and conſtancy; and, though he

cleared himſelf of any diſloyal intentions againſt the queen's authority, he acknowledged the juſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered.[l] That we may relate together affairs of a ſimilar nature, we ſhall mention that the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was alſo, a few months after, brought to the ſcaffold for his rebellion.

The queen of Scots was either the occaſion or the cauſe of all theſe diſturbances; but, as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, and might reaſonably, from the harſh treatment which ſhe had met with, think herſelf entitled to uſe any expedient for her relief, Elizabeth durſt not, as yet, form any reſolution of proceeding to extremities againſt her. She only ſent lord Delawar, ſir Ralph Sadler, ſir Thomas Bromley, and Dr. Wilſon, to expoſtulate with her, and to demand ſatisfaction for all thoſe parts of her conduct which, from the beginning of her life, had given diſpleaſure to Elizabeth; her aſſuming the arms of England, refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's conſent, concurring in the northern rebellion,[m] practiſing with Rodolphi to engage the king of Spain in an invaſion of England,[n] procuring the pope's bull of excommunication, and allowing her friends abroad to give her the title of queen of England. Mary juſtified herſelf from the ſeveral articles of the charge, either by denying the facts imputed to her or by throwing the blame on others.[o] But the queen was little ſatisfied with her apology; and the parliament was ſo enraged againſt her, that the commons made a direct application for her immediate trial and execution. They employed ſome topics derived from practice and reaſon, and the laws of nations; but the chief ſtreſs was laid on paſſages and examples from the Old Teſtament,[p] which, if conſidered as a general rule of conduct (an intention which it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe), would

lead to conſequences deſtructive of all principles of humanity and morality. Matters were here carried farther than Elizabeth intended; and that princeſs, ſatisfied with ſhewing Mary the diſpoſition of the nation, ſent to the houſe her expreſs commands not to deal any farther at preſent in the affair of the Scottiſh queen.[q] Nothing could be a ſtronger proof that the puritanical intereſt prevailed in the houſe, than the intemperate uſe of authorities derived from ſcripture, eſpecially from the Old Teſtament; and the queen was ſo little a lover of that ſect, that ſhe was not likely to make any conceſſion merely in deference to their ſolicitation. She ſhewed, this ſeſſion, her diſapprobation of their ſchemes in another remarkable inſtance. The commons had paſſed two bills for regulating eccleſiaſtical ceremonies; but ſhe ſent them a like imperious meſſage with her former ones; and, by the terror of her prerogative, ſhe ſtopped all farther proceeding in thoſe matters.[r]

SCOTCH AFFAIRS.

But, though Elizabeth would not carry matters to ſuch extremities againſt Mary as were recommended by the parliament, ſhe was alarmed at the great intereſt and the reſtleſs ſpirit of that princeſs, as well as her cloſe connexions with Spain; and ſhe thought it neceſſary both to increaſe the rigour and ſtrictneſs of her confinement, and to follow maxims different from thoſe which ſhe had hitherto purſued in her management of Scotland.[s] That kingdom remained ſtill in a ſtate of anarchy. The caſtle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of that party, encouraged by his countenance, had taken poſſeſſion of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war againſt the regent. By a ſudden and unexpected inroad they ſeized that nobleman at Stirling; but,

finding that his friends, ſallying from the caſtle, were likely to reſcue him, they inſtantly put him to death. The earl of Marre was choſen regent in his room, and found the ſame difficulties in the government of that divided country. He was therefore glad to accept of the mediation offered by the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors, and to conclude on equal terms a truce with the queen's party.[t] He was a man of a free and generous ſpirit, and ſcorned to ſubmit to any dependance on England; and for this reaſon Elizabeth, who had then formed intimate connexions with France, yielded with leſs reluctance to the ſolicitations of that court, ſtill maintained the appearance of neutrality between the parties, and allowed matters to remain on a balance in Scotland.[u] But affairs ſoon after took a new turn: Marre died of melancholy, with which the diſtracted ſtate of the country affected him; Morton was choſen regent; and, as this nobleman had ſecretly taken all his meaſures with Elizabeth, who no longer relied on the friendſhip of the French court, ſhe reſolved to exert herſelf more effectually for the ſupport of the party which ſhe had always favoured. She ſent ſir Henry Killegrew ambaſſador to Scotland, who found Mary's partiſans ſo diſcouraged by the diſcovery and puniſhment of Norfolk's conſpiracy, that they were glad to ſubmit to the king's authority, and accept of an indemnity from all paſt offences.[x] The duke of Chatelrault and the earl of Huntley, with the moſt conſiderable of Mary's friends, laid down their arms on theſe conditions. The garriſon alone of the caſtle of Edinburgh continued refractory. Kirkaldy's fortunes were deſperate; and he flattered himſelf with the hopes of receiving aſſiſtance from the kings of France and Spain, who encouraged his obſtinacy, in the view of being able, from that quarter, to give diſturbance to England. Elizabeth was alarmed with the danger; ſhe no more apprehended making an entire breach with the queen of Scots, who, ſhe found, would not any

longer be amuſed by her artifices; ſhe had an implicit reliance on Morton; and ſhe ſaw that, by the ſubmiſſion of all the conſiderable nobility, the pacification of Scotland would be an eaſy, as well as a moſt important, undertaking. She ordered, therefore, ſir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with ſome troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and to beſiege the caſtle.[y] The garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion; Kirkaldy was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by whom he was tried, condemned, and executed; ſecretary Lidington, who had taken part with him, died ſoon after a voluntary death, as is ſuppoſed; and Scotland, ſubmitting entirely to the regent, gave not, during a long time, any farther inquietude to Elizabeth.

FRENCH AFFAIRS.

THE events which happened in France were not ſo agreeable to the queen's intereſts and inclinations. The fallacious pacifications, which had been ſo often made with the hugonots, gave them reaſon to ſuſpect the preſent intentions of the court; and, after all the other leaders of that party were deceived into a dangerous credulity, the ſagacious admiral ſtill remained doubtful and uncertain. But his ſuſpicions were at laſt overcome, partly by the profound diſſimulation of Charles, partly by his own earneſt deſire to end the miſeries of France, and return again to the performance of his duty towards his prince and country. He conſidered, beſides, that, as the former violent conduct of the court had ever met with ſuch fatal ſucceſs, it was not unlikely that a prince, who had newly come to years of diſcretion, and appeared not to be rivetted in any dangerous animoſities or prejudices, would be induced to govern himſelf by more moderate maxims. And, as Charles was young, was of a paſſionate, haſty temper, and addicted to pleaſure, ſuch

deep perfidy ſeemed either remote from his character, or difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, to be ſo uniformly ſupported by him. Moved by theſe conſiderations, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the hugonots, began to repoſe themſelves in full ſecurity, and gave credit to the treacherous careſſes and profeſſions of the French court. Elizabeth herſelf, notwithſtanding her great experience and penetration, entertained not the leaſt diſtruſt of Charles's ſincerity; and, being pleaſed to find her enemies of the houſe of Guiſe removed from all authority, and to obſerve an animoſity every day growing between the French and Spaniſh monarchs, ſhe concluded a defenſive league with the former,[a] and regarded this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. Walſingham, her ambaſſador, ſent her over, by every courier, the moſt ſatisfactory accounts of the honour and plain dealing and fidelity of that perfidious prince.

MASSACRE OF PARIS.

THE better to blind the jealous hugonots, and draw their leaders into the ſnare prepared for them, Charles offered his ſiſter Margaret in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral, with all the conſiderable nobility of the party, had come to Paris, in order to aſſiſt at the celebration of theſe nuptials, which it was hoped would finally, if not compoſe the differences, at leaſt appeaſe the bloody animoſity, of the two religions. The queen of Navarre was poiſoned by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerouſly wounded by an aſſaſſin: yet Charles, redoubling his diſſimulation, was ſtill able to retain the hugonots in their ſecurity; till, on the evening of St. Bartholomew, a few days after the marriage, the ſignal was given for a general maſſacre of thoſe religioniſts, and the king himſelf, in perſon, led the way to theſe aſſaſſinations. The hatred, long entertained by the Pa-

riſians againſt the proteſtants, made them ſecond, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and perſons of every condition, age, and ſex, ſuſpected of any propenſity to that religion, were involved in an undiſtinguiſhed ruin. The admiral, his ſon-in-law Teligni, Soubize, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Piles, Lavardin, men who during the late wars had ſignalized themſelves by the moſt heroic actions, were miſerably butchered without reſiſtance; the ſtreets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than ſatiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had ſaved the victims from farther inſult, exerciſed on their dead bodies all the rage of the moſt licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank periſhed in this maſſacre, and near ten thouſand of inferior condition.[b] Orders were inſtantly diſpatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of the proteſtants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the king of Navarre and prince of Conde had been propoſed by the duke of Guiſe; but Charles, ſoftened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that theſe young princes might eaſily be converted to the catholic faith, determined to ſpare their lives, though he obliged them to purchaſe their ſafety by a ſeeming change of their religion.

Charles, in order to cover this barbarous perfidy, pretended that a conſpiracy of the hugonots to ſeize his perſon had been ſuddenly detected; and that he had been neceſſitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this ſeverity againſt them. He ſent orders to Fenelon, his ambaſſador in England, to aſk an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late tranſaction. That miniſter, a man of probity, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court; and even ſcrupled not to declare that he was now aſhamed to bear the name of Frenchman;[c] yet he was obliged to obey his orders, and make uſe of the apology which

had been preſcribed to him. He met with that reception from all the courtiers which he knew the conduct of his maſter had ſo well merited. Nothing could be more awful and affecting than the ſolemnity of his audience. A melancholy ſorrow ſat on every face; ſilence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment; the courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each ſide, and allowed him to paſs, without affording him one ſalute or favourable look, till he was admitted to the queen herſelf.[d] That princeſs received him with a more eaſy, if not a more gracious, countenance; and heard his apology without diſcovering any viſible ſymptoms of indignation. She then told him that, though, on the firſt rumour of this dreadful intelligence, ſhe had been aſtoniſhed that ſo many brave men and loyal ſubjects, who reſted ſecure on the faith of their ſovereign, ſhould have been ſuddenly butchered in ſo barbarous a manner, ſhe had hitherto ſuſpended her judgment, till farther and more certain information ſhould be brought her; that the account which he had given, even if founded on no miſtake or bad information, though it might alleviate, would by no means remove, the blame of the king's counſellors, or juſtify the ſtrange irregularity of their proceedings; that the ſame force, which without reſiſtance had maſſacred ſo many defenceleſs men, could eaſily have ſecured their perſons, and have reſerved them for a trial, and for puniſhment by a legal ſentence, which would have diſtinguiſhed the innocent from the guilty; that the admiral, in particular, being dangerouſly wounded, and environed by the guards of the king, on whoſe protection he ſeemed entirely to rely, had no means of eſcape, and might ſurely, before his death, have been convicted of the crimes imputed to him; that it was more worthy of a ſovereign to reſerve in his own hands the ſword of juſtice than to commit it to bloody murderers, who, being the declared and

mortal enemies of the perſons accuſed, employed it without mercy and without diſtinction; that, if theſe ſentiments were juſt, even ſuppoſing the conſpiracy of the proteſtants to be real, how much more ſo if that crime was a calumny of their enemies, invented for their deſtruction? That, if upon inquiry the innocence of theſe unhappy victims ſhould afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defamers, who had thus cruelly abuſed his confidence, had murdered ſo many of his brave ſubjects, and had done what in them lay to cover him with everlaſting diſhonour; and that, for her part, ſhe ſhould form her judgment of his intentions by his ſubſequent conduct; and in the mean time ſhould act as deſired by the ambaſſador, and rather pity than blame his maſter for the extremities to which he had been carried.[e]

Elizabeth was fully ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation in which ſhe now ſtood. In the maſſacre of Paris ſhe ſaw the reſult of that general conſpiracy formed for the extermination of the proteſtants; and ſhe knew that ſhe herſelf, as the head and protectreſs of the new religion, was expoſed to the utmoſt fury and reſentment of the catholics. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards in the Low Countries was another branch of the ſame conſpiracy; and, as Charles and Philip, two princes nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity as well as in bigotry, had now laid aſide their pretended quarrel, and had avowed the moſt entire friendſhip,[f] ſhe had reaſon, as ſoon as they had appeaſed their domeſtic commotions, to dread the effects of their united counſels. The duke of Guiſe alſo, and his family, whom Charles, in order to deceive the admiral, had hitherto kept at a diſtance, had now acquired an open and entire aſcendant in the court of France; and ſhe was ſenſible that theſe princes, from perſonal as well as political reaſons, were her declared and implacable enemies. The queen of Scots, their near relation and cloſe confederate,

was the pretender to her throne; and, though detained in cuſtody, was actuated by a reſtleſs ſpirit, and, beſides her foreign allies, poſſeſſed numerous and zealous partiſans in the heart of the kingdom. For theſe reaſons Elizabeth thought it more prudent not to reject all commerce with the French monarch, but ſtill to liſten to the profeſſions of friendſhip which he made her. She allowed even the negociations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother;[g] thoſe with the duke of Anjou had already been broken off. She ſent the earl of Worceſter to aſſiſt in her name at the baptiſm of a young princeſs, born to Charles; but, before ſhe agreed to give him this laſt mark of condeſcenſion, ſhe thought it becoming her dignity to renew her expreſſions of blame, and even of deteſtation, againſt the cruelties exerciſed on his proteſtant ſubjects.[h] Meanwhile ſhe prepared herſelf for that attack which ſeemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romaniſts; ſhe fortified Portſmouth, put her fleet in order, exerciſed her militia, cultivated popularity with her ſubjects, acted with vigour for the farther reduction of Scotland under obedience to the young king, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no leſs alarmed than herſelf at theſe treacherous and ſanguinary meaſures, ſo univerſally embraced by the catholics.

FRENCH AFFAIRS. 1573.

But, though Elizabeth cautiouſly avoided coming to extremities with Charles, the greateſt ſecurity that ſhe poſſeſſed againſt his violence was derived from the difficulties which the obſtinate reſiſtance of the hugonots ſtill created to him. Such of that ſect as lived near the frontiers immediately, on the firſt news of the maſſacres, fled into England, Germany, or Switzerland; where

they excited the compaſſion and indignation of the proteſtants, and prepared themſelves, with increaſed forces and redoubled zeal, to return into France, and avenge the treacherous ſlaughter of their brethren. Thoſe who lived in the middle of the kingdom took ſhelter in the neareſt garriſons occupied by the hugonots; and, finding that they could repoſe no faith in capitulations, and expect no clemency, were determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. The ſect, which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate, had now an army of eighteen thouſand men on foot, and poſſeſſed, in different parts of the kingdom, above a hundred cities, caſtles, or fortreſſes;[i] nor could that prince deem himſelf ſecure from the invaſion threatened him by all the other proteſtants in Europe. The nobility and gentry of England were rouſed to ſuch a pitch of reſentment, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, to tranſport them into France, and to maintain them ſix months at their own charge: but Elizabeth, who was cautious in her meaſures, and who feared to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions by theſe dangerous cruſades, refuſed her conſent,[k] and moderated the zeal of her ſubjects. The German princes, leſs political or more ſecure from the reſentment of France, forwarded the levies made by the proteſtants; and the young prince of Conde, having eſcaped from court, put himſelf at the head of theſe troops, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the family of Montmorenci, and many conſiderable men even among the catholics, diſpleaſed, either on a private or public account, with the meaſures of the court, favoured the progreſs of the hugonots; and every thing relapſed into confuſion. The king, inſtead of repenting his violent counſels, which had brought matters to ſuch extremities, called aloud for new violences;[l] nor could even the mortal diſtemper under which he laboured mo-

derate the rage and animoſity by which he was actuated. He died, without male iſſue, at the age of twenty-five years; a prince whoſe character, containing that unuſual mixture of diſſimulation and ferocity, of quick reſentment and unrelenting vengeance, executed the greateſt miſchiefs, and threatened ſtill worſe, both to his native country and to all Europe.

Henry, duke of Anjou, who had ſome time before been elected king of Poland, no ſooner heard of his brother's death than he haſtened to take poſſeſſion of the throne of France; and found the kingdom not only involved in the greateſt preſent diſorders, but expoſed to infirmities, for which it was extremely difficult to provide any ſuitable remedy. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or ſuffered; and, as all faith had been violated and moderation baniſhed, it ſeemed impracticable to find any terms of compoſition between them. Each party had devoted itſelf to leaders, whoſe commands had more authority than the will of the ſovereign; and even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, were entirely conducted by the counſels of Guiſe and his family. The religious connexions had, on both ſides, ſuperſeded the civil; or rather (for men will always be guided by preſent intereſt), two empires being ſecretly formed in the kingdom, every individual was engaged by new views of intereſt to follow thoſe leaders to whom, during the courſe of paſt convulſions, he had been indebted for his honours and preferment.

Henry, obſerving the low condition of the crown, had laid a ſcheme for reſtoring his own authority, by acting as umpire between the parties, by moderating their differences, and by reducing both to a dependance upon himſelf. He poſſeſſed all the talents of diſſimulation requiſite for the execution of this delicate plan; but, being deficient in vigour, application, and ſound

judgment, inſtead of acquiring a ſuperiority over both factions, he loſt the confidence of both, and taught the partiſans of each to adhere ſtill more cloſely to their particular leaders, whom they found more cordial and ſincere in the cauſe which they eſpouſed. The hugonots were ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of a German army under the prince of Conde and prince Caſimir; but much more by the credit and perſonal virtues of the king of Navarre, who, having fled from court, had placed himſelf at the head of that formidable party. Henry, in proſecution of his plan, entered into a compoſition with them; and, being deſirous of preſerving a balance between the ſects, he granted them peace on the moſt advantageous conditions. This was the fifth general peace made with the hugonots; but, though it was no more ſincere on the part of the court than any of the former, it gave the higheſt diſguſt to the catholics; and afforded the duke of Guiſe the deſired pretence of declaiming againſt the meaſures and maxims and conduct of the king.

That artful and bold leader took thence an occaſion of reducing his party into a more formed and regular body; and he laid the firſt foundations of the famous League, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire ſuppreſſion of the hugonots. Such was the unhappy condition of France, from the paſt ſeverities and violent conduct of its princes, that toleration could no longer be admitted; and conceſſion for liberty of conſcience, which would probably have appeaſed the reformers, excited the greateſt reſentment in the catholics. Henry, in order to divert the force of the league from himſelf, and even to elude its efforts againſt the hugonots, declared himſelf the head of that ſeditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Romaniſts. But his dilatory and feeble meaſures betrayed his reluctance to the undertaking; and, after ſome unſucceſsful attempts, he concluded a new peace, which,

though leſs favourable than the former to the proteſtants, gave no contentment to the catholics. Mutual diffidence ſtill prevailed between the parties; the king's moderation was ſuſpicious to both; each faction continued to fortify itſelf againſt that breach which they foreſaw muſt ſpeedily enſue; theological controverſy daily whetted the animoſity of the ſects; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel.

The king, hoping by his artifice and ſubtlety to allure the nation into a love of pleaſure and repoſe, was himſelf caught in the ſnare; and, ſinking into a diſſolute indolence, wholly loſt the eſteem, and, in a great meaſure, the affections of his people. Inſtead of advancing ſuch men of character and abilities as were neuters between theſe dangerous factions, he gave all his confidence to young agreeable favourites, who, unable to prop his falling authority, leaned entirely upon it, and inflamed the general odium againſt his adminiſtration. The public burdens, increaſed by his profuſe liberality, and felt more heavy on a diſordered kingdom, became another ground of complaint; and the uncontrolled animoſity of parties, joined to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous than any open ſtate of foreign or even domeſtic hoſtility. The artifices of the king were too refined to ſucceed, and too frequent to be concealed; and the plain, direct, and avowed, conduct of the duke of Guiſe on one ſide, and that of the king of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themſelves without reſerve to one or the other of thoſe great leaders.

The civil commotions of France were of too general importance to be overlooked by the other princes of Europe; and Elizabeth's foreſight and vigilance, though ſomewhat reſtrained by her frugality, led her to take ſecretly ſome part in them. Beſides employing on all occaſions her good offices in favour of the hugonots, ſhe had expended no inconſiderable ſums in levy-

ing that army of Germans which the prince of Conde and prince Caſimir conducted into France;[m] and, notwithſtanding her negociations with the court, and her profeſſions of amity, ſhe always conſidered her own intereſts as connected with the proſperity of the French proteſtants and the depreſſion of the houſe of Guiſe. Philip, on the other hand, had declared himſelf protector of the league; had entered into the cloſeſt correſpondence with Guiſe; and had employed all his authority in ſupporting the credit of that factious leader. The ſympathy of religion, which of itſelf begat a connexion of intereſts, was one conſiderable inducement; but that monarch had alſo in view the ſubduing of his rebellious ſubjects in the Netherlands; who, as they received great encouragement from the French proteſtants, would, he hoped, finally deſpair of ſucceſs, after the entire ſuppreſſion of their friends and confederates.

CIVIL WARS OF THE LOW COUNTRIES. 1579.

The ſame political views which engaged Elizabeth to ſupport the hugonots, would have led her to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquillity of all his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in theſe mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithſtanding all temptations and all provocations, to preſerve ſome terms of amity with that monarch. The Spaniſh ambaſſador repreſented to her that many of the Flemiſh exiles, who infeſted the ſeas, and preyed on his maſter's ſubjects, were received into the harbours of England, and were there allowed to diſpoſe of their prizes; and by theſe remonſtrances the queen found herſelf under a neceſſity of denying them all entrance into her dominions. But this meaſure proved in the iſſue extremely prejudicial to the intereſts of Philip. Theſe deſperate

exiles, finding no longer any poſſibility of ſubſiſtence, were forced to attempt the moſt perilous enterpriſes; and they made an aſſault on the Brille, a ſeaport town in Holland, where they met with ſucceſs, and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, became maſters of the place.[n] The duke of Alva was alarmed at the danger; and, ſtopping thoſe bloody executions which he was making on the defenceleſs Flemings, he haſtened with his army to extinguiſh the flame, which, falling on materials ſo well prepared for combuſtion, ſeemed to menace a general conflagration. His fears ſoon appeared to be well grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppreſſion, inſolence, uſurpation, and perſecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms; and in a few days almoſt the whole province of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared againſt the tyranny of Alva. This event happened in the year 1572.

William, prince of Orange, deſcended from a ſovereign family of great luſtre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the poſſeſſions of a ſovereign family in France, had fixed his reſidence in the Low Countries; and, on account of his noble birth and immenſe riches, as well as of his perſonal merit, was univerſally regarded as the greateſt ſubject that lived in thoſe provinces. He had oppoſed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progreſs of the Spaniſh uſurpations; and, when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands and aſſumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man and the tyrannical ſpirit of the court of Madrid, wiſely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal eſtate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in abſence, was declared a rebel, and his ample poſſeſſions in the Low Countries were confiſcated. In revenge, he had levied an army of proteſtants in the empire,

and had made ſome attempts to reſtore the Flemings to liberty; but was ſtill repulſed with loſs by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery, as well as diſcipline, of thoſe veteran Spaniards who ſerved under that general.

The revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, called him anew from his retreat; and he added conduct, no leſs than ſpirit, to that obſtinate reſiſtance which was here made to the Spaniſh dominion. By uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundation of that illuſtrious commonwealth, the offspring of induſtry and liberty, whoſe arms and policy have long made ſo ſignal a figure in every tranſaction of Europe. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, reſentment, or love of freedom, could inſpire. Though the preſent greatneſs of the Spaniſh monarchy might deprive them of all courage, he ſtill flattered them with the concurrence of the other provinces, and with aſſiſtance from neighbouring ſtates; and he exhorted them, in defence of their religion, their liberties, their lives, to endure the utmoſt extremities of war. From this ſpirit proceeded the deſperate defence of Harlem; a defence which nothing but the moſt conſuming famine could overcome, and which the Spaniards revenged by the execution of more than two thouſand of the inhabitants.° This extreme ſeverity, inſtead of ſtriking terror into the Hollanders, animated them by deſpair; and the vigorous reſiſtance made at Alcmaer, where Alva was finally repulſed, ſhewed them that their inſolent enemies were not invincible. The duke, finding at laſt the pernicious effects of his violent counſels, ſolicited to be recalled; Medina-celi, who was appointed his ſucceſſor, refuſed to accept the government; Requeſens, commendator of Caſtile, was ſent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from the Netherlands in 1574, leaving his name in exe-

cration to the inhabitants, and boaſting, in his turn, that, during the courſe of five years, he had delivered above eighteen thouſand of theſe rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner.[P]

Requeſens, though a man of milder diſpoſitions, could not appeaſe the violent hatred which the revolted Hollanders had conceived againſt the Spaniſh government; and the war continued as obſtinate as ever. In the ſiege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch opened the dykes and ſluices, in order to drive them from the enterpriſe; and the very peaſants were active in ruining their fields by an inundation, rather than fall again under the hated tyranny of Spain. But, notwithſtanding this repulſe, the governor ſtill purſued the war; and the conteſt ſeemed too unequal between ſo mighty a monarchy, and two ſmall provinces, however fortified by nature, and however defended by the deſperate reſolution of the inhabitants. The prince of Orange therefore, in 1575, was reſolved to ſue for foreign ſuccour, and to make applications to one or other of his great neighbours, Henry or Elizabeth. The court of France was not exempt from the ſame ſpirit of tyranny and perſecution which prevailed among the Spaniards; and that kingdom, torn by domeſtic diſſenſions, ſeemed not to enjoy at preſent either leiſure or ability to pay regard to foreign intereſts. But England, long connected, both by commerce and alliance, with the Netherlands, and now more concerned in the fate of the revolted provinces by ſympathy in religion, ſeemed naturally intereſted in their defence; and, as Elizabeth had juſtly entertained great jealouſy of Philip, and governed her kingdom in perfect tranquillity, hopes were entertained that her policy, her ambition, or her generoſity, would engage her to ſupport them under their preſent calamities. They ſent therefore a ſolemn embaſſy to London, conſiſting of St. Aldegonde, Douza, Neville, Buys, and Mel-

ſen; and, after employing the moſt humble ſupplications to the queen, they offered her the poſſeſſion and ſovereignty of their provinces if ſhe would exert her power in their defence.

There were many ſtrong motives which might impel Elizabeth to accept of ſo liberal an offer. She was apprized of the injuries which Philip had done her by his intrigues with the malcontents in England and Ireland;[q] ſhe foreſaw the danger which ſhe muſt incur from a total prevalence of the catholics in the Low Countries; and the maritime ſituation of thoſe provinces, as well as their command over the great rivers, was an inviting circumſtance to a nation like the Engliſh, who were beginning to cultivate commerce and naval power. But this princeſs, though magnanimous, had never entertained the ambition of making conqueſts, or gaining new acquiſitions; and the whole purpoſe of her vigilant and active politics was to maintain, by the moſt frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spaniſh monarchy was the apparent conſequence of her accepting the dominion of theſe provinces; and, after taking the inhabitants under her protection, ſhe could never afterwards in honour abandon them, but, however deſperate their defence might become, ſhe muſt embrace it, even farther than her convenience or intereſts would permit. For theſe reaſons ſhe refuſed, in *poſitive* terms, the ſovereignty proffered her; but told the ambaſſadors that, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the States had ſhewn her, ſhe would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them on the moſt reaſonable terms[r] that could be obtained. She ſent accordingly ſir Henry Cobham to Philip; and repreſented to him the danger which he would incur of loſing entirely the Low Countries, if France could obtain the leaſt interval from her inteſtine diſorders, and find leiſure to offer her protection to thoſe mutinous and diſcontented provinces. Philip

ſeemed to take this remonſtrance in good part; but no accord enſued, and war in the Netherlands continued with the ſame rage and violence as before.

It was an accident that delivered the Hollanders from their preſent deſperate ſituation. Requeſens, the governor, dying ſuddenly, the Spaniſh troops, diſcontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny, and threw every thing into confuſion. They ſacked and pillaged the cities of Maeſtricht and Antwerp, and executed great ſlaughter on the inhabitants; they threatened the other cities with a like fate; and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence againſt their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders, as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the reſtoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually ſtipulated to purſue. Don John of Auſtria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the States had ſo fortified themſelves, and that the Spaniſh troops were ſo divided by their ſituation, that there was no poſſibility of reſiſtance; and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and theſe provinces ſeemed at laſt to breathe a little from their calamities.

But it was not eaſy to ſettle entire peace while the thirſt of revenge and dominion governed the king of Spain, and while the Flemings were ſo ſtrongly agitated with reſentment of paſt, and fear of future, injuries. The ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for his military talents, engaged him rather to inflame than appeaſe the quarrel; and, as he found the States determined to impoſe very ſtrict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles, ſeized Namur, and procured the

recall of the Spaniſh army from Italy. This prince, endowed with a lofty genius, and elated by the proſperous ſucceſſes of his youth, had opened his mind to vaſt undertakings; and, looking much beyond the conqueſt of the revolted provinces, had projected to eſpouſe the queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the Britiſh kingdoms.[s] Elizabeth was aware of his intentions; and, ſeeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair proſpect of their making a long and vigorous defence againſt Spain, ſhe no longer ſcrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which ſeemed ſo intimately connected with her own ſafety. After ſending them a ſum of money, about twenty thouſand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops, ſhe concluded a treaty with them; in which ſhe ſtipulated to aſſiſt them with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hundred thouſand pounds, on receiving the bonds of ſome of the moſt conſiderable towns of the Netherlands for her repayment within the year. It was farther agreed that the commander of the Engliſh army ſhould be admitted into the council of the States, and nothing be determined concerning war or peace without previouſly informing the queen or him of it; that they ſhould enter into no league without her conſent; that, if any diſcord aroſe among themſelves, it ſhould be referred to her arbitration; and that, if any prince, on any pretext, ſhould attempt hoſtilities againſt her, they ſhould ſend to her aſſiſtance an army equal to that which ſhe had employed in their defence. This alliance was ſigned on the ſeventh of January 1578.[t]

One conſiderable inducement to the queen for entering into treaty with the States was to prevent their throwing themſelves into the arms of France; and ſhe was deſirous to make the king of Spain believe that it was her ſole motive. She repreſented to him, by her ambaſſador Thomas Wilkes, that hitherto ſhe had

religiouſly acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refuſed the ſovereignty of Holland and Zealand when offered her; had adviſed the prince of Orange to ſubmit to the king; and had even accompanied her counſel with menaces, in caſe of his refuſal. She perſevered, ſhe ſaid, in the ſame friendly intentions; and, as a proof of it, would venture to interpoſe with her advice for the compoſure of the preſent differences; let Don John, whom ſhe could not but regard as her mortal enemy, be recalled; let ſome other prince more popular be ſubſtituted in his room; let the Spaniſh armies be withdrawn; let the Flemings be reſtored to their ancient liberties and privileges; and, if after theſe conceſſions they were ſtill obſtinate not to return to their duty, ſhe promiſed to join her arms with thoſe of the king of Spain, and force them to compliance. Philip diſſembled his reſentment againſt the queen, and ſtill continued to ſupply Don John with money and troops. That prince, though once repulſed at Rimenant by the valour of the Engliſh under Norris, and though oppoſed, as well by the army of the States as by prince Caſimir, who had conducted to the Low Countries a great body of Germans, paid by the queen, gained a great advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but was cut off in the midſt of his proſperity by poiſon, given him ſecretly, as was ſuſpected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The prince of Parma ſucceeded to the command; who, uniting valour and clemency, negociation and military exploits, made great progreſs againſt the revolted Flemings, and advanced the progreſs of the Spaniards by his arts as well as by his arms.

During theſe years, while Europe was almoſt every where in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity; owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's adminiſtration, and to the wiſe precautions which ſhe employed in all her meaſures. By ſupporting the zealous proteſtants in Scotland

ſhe had twice given them the ſuperiority over their antagoniſts, had cloſely connected their intereſts with her own, and had procured herſelf entire ſecurity from that quarter whence the moſt dangerous invaſions could be made upon her. She ſaw in France her enemies the Guiſes, though extremely powerful, yet counterbalanced by the hugonots, her zealous partiſans, and even hated by the king, who was jealous of their reſtleſs and exorbitant ambition. The bigotry of Philip gave her juſt ground of anxiety; but the ſame bigotry had happily excited the moſt obſtinate oppoſition among his own ſubjects, and had created him enemies whom his arms and policy were not likely ſoon to ſubdue. The queen of Scots, her antagoniſt and rival, and the pretender to her throne, was a priſoner in her hands; and, by her impatience and high ſpirit, had been engaged in practices which afforded the queen a pretence for rendering her confinement more rigorous, and for cutting off her communication with her partiſans in England.

Religion was the capital point on which depended all the political tranſactions of that age; and the queen's conduct in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing prejudices of the times, could ſcarcely be accuſed of ſeverity or imprudence. She eſtabliſhed no inquiſition into men's boſoms; ſhe impoſed no oath of ſupremacy, except on thoſe who received truſt or emolument from the public; and, though the exerciſe of every religion but the eſtabliſhed was prohibited by ſtatute, the violation of this law, by ſaying maſs, and receiving the ſacrament in private houſes, was, in many inſtances, connived at;" while, on the other hand, the catholics, in the beginning of her reign, ſhewed little reluctance againſt going to church, or frequenting the ordinary duties of public worſhip. The pope, ſenſible that this practice would by degrees reconcile all his partiſans to the reformed religion, haſtened the publication of the bull which excommuni-

cated the queen, and freed her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance; and great pains were taken by the emiſſaries of Rome to render the breach between the two religions as wide as poſſible, and to make the frequenting of proteſtant churches appear highly criminal in the catholics.[w] Theſe practices, with the rebellion which enſued, increaſed the vigilance and ſeverity of the government; but the Romaniſts, if their condition were compared with that of the nonconformiſts in other countries, and with their own maxims where they domineered, could not juſtly complain of violence or perſecution.

The queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a ſtrict hand over the puritans; who, though their pretenſions were not ſo immediately dangerous to her authority, ſeemed to be actuated by a more unreaſonable obſtinacy, and to retain claims, of which, both in civil and eccleſiaſtical matters, it was as yet difficult to diſcern the full ſcope and intention. Some ſecret attempts of that ſect to eſtabliſh a ſeparate congregation and diſcipline had been carefully repreſſed in the beginning of this reign;[x] and, when any of the eſtabliſhed clergy diſcovered a tendency to their principles by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had ſhewn a determined reſolution to puniſh them by fines and deprivation;[y] though her orders to that purpoſe had been frequently eluded by the ſecret protection which theſe ſectaries received from ſome of her moſt conſiderable courtiers.

But what chiefly tended to gain Elizabeth the hearts of her ſubjects was her frugality, which, though carried ſometimes to an extreme, led her not to amaſs treaſures, but only to prevent impoſitions upon her people, who were at that time very little accuſtomed to bear the burdens of government. By means of her rigid economy ſhe paid all the debts which ſhe found on the crown, with their full intereſt; though ſome of theſe debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father.[z] Some

loans, which ſhe had exacted at the commencement of her reign, were repaid by her;[a] a practice in that age ſomewhat unuſual; and ſhe eſtabliſhed her credit on ſuch a footing, that no ſovereign in Europe could more readily command any ſum which the public exigencies might at any time require.[b] During this peaceable and uniform government England furniſhes few materials for hiſtory; and, except the ſmall part which Elizabeth took in foreign tranſactions, there ſcarcely paſſed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

A PARLIAMENT.

THE moſt memorable event in this period was a ſeſſion of parliament, held on the eighth of February 1576; where debates were ſtarted which may appear ſomewhat curious and ſingular. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who had ſignalized himſelf in former parliaments by his free and undaunted ſpirit, opened this ſeſſion with a premeditated harangue, which drew on him the indignation of the houſe, and gave great offence to the queen and the miniſters. As it ſeems to contain a rude ſketch of thoſe principles of liberty which happily gained afterwards the aſcendant in England, it may not be improper to give, in a few words, the ſubſtance of it. He premiſed that the very name of liberty is ſweet; but the thing itſelf is precious beyond the moſt ineſtimable treaſure: and that it behoved them to be careful, leſt, contenting themſelves with the ſweetneſs of the name, they forego the ſubſtance, and abandon what of all earthly poſſeſſions was of the higheſt value to the kingdom. He then proceeded to obſerve that freedom of ſpeech in that houſe, a privilege ſo uſeful both to ſovereign and ſubject, had been formerly infringed in many eſſential articles, and was at preſent expoſed to the moſt imminent danger: that it was uſual, when any ſubject of im-

portance was handled, eſpecially if it regarded religion, to ſurmiſe that theſe topics were diſagreeable to the queen, and that the farther proceeding in them would draw down her indignation upon their temerity: that Solomon had juſtly affirmed the king's diſpleaſure to be a meſſenger of death; and it was no wonder if men, even though urged by motives of conſcience and duty, ſhould be inclined to ſtop ſhort when they found themſelves expoſed to ſo ſevere a penalty: that, by the employing of this argument, the houſe was incapacitated from ſerving their country, and even from ſerving the queen herſelf; whoſe ears, beſieged by pernicious flatterers, were thereby rendered inacceſſible to the moſt ſalutary truths: that it was a mockery to call an aſſembly a parliament, yet deny it that privilege which was ſo eſſential to its being, and without which it muſt degenerate into an abject ſchool of ſervility and diſſimulation: that, as the parliament was the great guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to diſcharge their truſt, and to maintain that authority whence even kings themſelves derive their being: that a king was conſtituted ſuch by law, and, though he was not dependant on man, yet was he ſubordinate to God and the law, and was obliged to make their preſcriptions, not his own will, the rule of his conduct: that even his commiſſion, as God's vicegerent, enforced, inſtead of looſening, this obligation; ſince he was thereby inveſted with authority to execute on earth the will of God, which is nothing but law and juſtice: that, though theſe ſurmiſes of diſpleaſing the queen by their proceedings had impeached, in a very eſſential point, all freedom of ſpeech, a privilege granted them by a ſpecial law, yet was there a more expreſs and more dangerous invaſion made on their liberties by frequent meſſages from the throne: that it had become a practice, when the houſe was entering on any queſtion, either eccleſiaſtical or civil, to bring an order from the queen, inhibiting

them abſolutely from treating of ſuch matters, and debarring them from all farther diſcuſſion of theſe momentous articles: that the prelates, emboldened by her royal protection, had aſſumed a deciſive power in all queſtions of religion, and required that every one ſhould implicitly ſubmit his faith to their arbitrary determinations: that the love which he bore his ſovereign forbad him to be ſilent under ſuch abuſes, or to ſacrifice, on this important occaſion, his duty to ſervile flattery and complaiſance: and that, as no earthly creature was exempt from fault, ſo neither was the queen herſelf; but, in impoſing this ſervitude on her faithful commons, had committed a great, and even dangerous, fault againſt herſelf and the whole commonwealth.[c]

It is eaſy to obſerve, from this ſpeech, that, in this dawn of liberty, the parliamentary ſtyle was ſtill crude and unformed; and that the proper decorum of attacking miniſters and counſellors, without intereſting the honour of the crown, or mentioning the perſon of the ſovereign, was not yet entirely eſtabliſhed. The commons expreſſed great diſpleaſure at this unuſual licenſe; they ſequeſtered Wentworth from the houſe, and committed him priſoner to the ſerjeant at arms: they even ordered him to be examined by a committee, conſiſting of all thoſe members who were alſo members of the privy council; and a report to be next day made to the houſe. This committee met in the ſtar chamber, and, wearing the aſpect of that arbitrary court, ſummoned Wentworth to appear before them and anſwer for his behaviour. But, though the commons had diſcovered ſo little delicacy or precaution in thus confounding their own authority with that of the ſtar chamber, Wentworth better underſtood the principles of liberty, and refuſed to give theſe counſellors any account of his conduct in parliament till he were ſatisfied that they acted, not as members of the privy council, but as a committee of the houſe.[d] He juſtified his liberty of ſpeech by plead-

ing the rigour and hardſhip of the queen's meſſages; and, notwithſtanding that the committee ſhewed him, by inſtances in other reigns, that the practice of ſending ſuch meſſages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to expreſs any ſorrow or repentance. The iſſue of the affair was, that, after a month's confinement, the queen ſent to the commons, informing them that, from her ſpecial grace and favour, ſhe had reſtored him to his liberty, and to his place in the houſe.[e] By this ſeeming lenity ſhe indirectly retained the power, which ſhe had aſſumed, of impriſoning the members, and obliging them to anſwer before her for their conduct in parliament. And ſir Walter Mildmay endeavoured to make the houſe ſenſible of her majeſty's goodneſs, in ſo gently remitting the indignation which ſhe might juſtly conceive at the temerity of their member: but he informed them that they had not the liberty of ſpeaking what and of whom they pleaſed; and that indiſcreet freedoms uſed in that houſe had, both in the preſent and foregoing ages, met with a proper chaſtiſement. He warned them, therefore, not to abuſe farther the queen's clemency, leſt ſhe be conſtrained, contrary to her inclination, to turn an unſucceſsful lenity into a neceſſary ſeverity.[f]

The behaviour of the two houſes was, in every other reſpect, equally tame and ſubmiſſive. Inſtead of a bill, which was at firſt introduced,[g] for the reformation of the church, they were contented to preſent a petition to her majeſty for that purpoſe; and, when ſhe told them that ſhe would give orders to her biſhops to amend all abuſes, and, if they were negligent, ſhe would herſelf, by her ſupreme power and authority over the church, give ſuch redreſs as would entirely ſatisfy the nation, the parliament willingly acquieſced in this ſovereign and peremptory deciſion.[h]

Though the commons ſhewed ſo little ſpirit in oppoſing the authority of the crown, they maintained, this ſeſſion, their dig-

nity againſt an encroachment of the peers, and would not agree to a conference, which they thought was demanded of them in an irregular manner. They acknowledged, however, with all humbleneſs (ſuch is their expreſſion), the ſuperiority of the lords; they only refuſed to give that houſe any reaſon for their proceedings; and aſſerted that, where they altered a bill ſent them by the peers, it belonged to them to deſire a conference, not to the upper houſe to require it.[i]

The commons granted an aid of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. Mildmay, in order to ſatisfy the houſe concerning the reaſonableneſs of this grant, entered into a detail of the queen's paſt expenſes in ſupporting the government, and of the increaſing charges of the crown, from the daily increaſe in the price of all commodities. He did not, however, forget to admoniſh them that they were to regard this detail as the pure effect of the queen's condeſcenſion, ſince ſhe was not bound to give them any account how ſhe employed her treaſure.[k]

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